



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

**FBIS-AFR-91-244
Thursday
19 December 1991**

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Chad

Comparison of Cabinet Reshuffle

AB1812105491

Paris AFP in French at 1621 GMT on 13 December carries a report on the 12 December Chadian Cabinet reshuffle with names of the new Cabinet ministers. The AFP list has been compared with the Ndjamena RNT Radio French version published in the 17 December Sub-Saharan Africa DAILY REPORT, pages 1 and 2, revealing the following variations:

Page 2, column 1, names for the following officials read:

Minister of Finance	Manasse Guelbaye
Minister of Planning and Cooperation	Ibn Oumar Mahamat Salet
Minister of National Education	Koumbaria Laoumaye Mekonyo
Minister of Civil Service and Labor	Abderamane Izzo (new)
Minister Delegate to the Prime Minister	M. Malloum, in charge of reforms
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs	Kadadi Ndaimansaou
Secretary of State for National Defense	Mustapha Alifei
Secretary of State for Interior and Security	Ngamai Djari
Secretary of State for Finance	Mrs. Mariam Mahamat Nour
Secretary of State for Planning and Cooperation	Mouadjidibaye Titingar (new)
Secretary of State for Public Works and Transport	Mohiaddine Salah
Secretary of State for National Education, in charge of Higher Education	Tagui Guelbaye
Secretary of State for National Education, in charge of Youth and Sports	Hasan Maria
Secretary of State for Rural Development	Garboubou Seid (new)

Secretary of State for Public Health and Social Affairs	Ousman Djidda (new)
Secretary of State for Civil Service and Labor	Julien Beassounda (new)
Secretary General of the Government	Adji Sidimi
Deputy Secretary General of the Government	Oscar Donadji (new)

Zaire

No Date Set for Resumption of National Conference

AB1912114991 Paris AFP in French 1310 GMT
18 Dec 91

[Text] Kinshasa, 18 Dec (AFP)—By midday today no date had been fixed for the resumption of the deliberations of Zaire's sovereign national conference whose plenary session was suspended in Kinshasa on Friday, 13 December. A tripartite meeting was held yesterday between the three sides attending the national conference—civil society, political parties and public institutions—aimed at harmonizing their positions concerning the lists of candidates for membership of the provisional bureau, it was learned from a reliable source in the Zairian capital.

The 13 December deliberations had been interrupted because of the large number of candidates seeking to serve in this provisional bureau chaired by Monsignor Laurent Monsengo Pasinya. In fact, over 500 people intended to stand for the posts of first and second vice chairman, the three posts of secretary rapporteur, and the nine posts of scrutinizer. The session, presided over by Interior Minister Mandungu Bula Nyati was, therefore, suspended in order to allow the three sides to hold consultations.

Yesterday's meeting is said to have permitted a reduction in the number of candidates from over 500 to about 160. Today, however, negotiations continued without the announcement of the official lists of candidates and a set date for the resumption of the deliberations.

Djibouti**Further on Police Raid in Afar District, Casualties****Radio Says 5 Civilians, 3 Police Killed**

EA1812193591 Djibouti Radio Djibouti in Somali
1700 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] Several people died as a result of shooting in slums behind Arhiba. The shooting took place as the security forces were carrying out their normal duties of checking the identity papers of the people residing there. Unknown people began firing at the security forces and killed three, two of whom were from the gendarmerie and one who was a police officer. In defending themselves, the security forces killed five people and slightly injured 26 others.

Calm has since returned and people are being asked to remain vigilant against troublemakers. An investigation has begun to determine who started the disturbances and to find out what happened to the guns taken from the dead gendarmes.

Details Disputed; France Condemns Events

LD1812174291 Paris Radio France International
in French 1230 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Djibouti: The confrontation between the authorities and the Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy is taking an increasingly tragic turn. Following the Army search operations in the north over the past few days, and the arrest yesterday of the guerrillas' spokesman, early this morning there was a real massacre in the Afar quarter of the capital when gendarmes fired on the inhabitants of the sector, killing several people, according to the opposition. So, what exactly happened this morning? This is the question which Sophie Malibot put to Deputy Mohamed Issa Cheicko a few minutes ago:

[Begin recording] [Cheicko] At 0500 this morning the Djibouti police surrounded the Arhiba housing district, ostensibly to carry out an identity card check. After that they arrested around 100 people in an identity check and then sprayed them with bullets. Around 30 corpses remained on the spot—26 men and four women.

[Malibot] Where exactly did this happen?

[Cheicko] At Arhiba, in other words on the very edge of Arhiba, on a piece of waste ground.

[Malibot] What happened to the injured? Do you know where they were taken?

[Cheicko] To the Peltier Hospital. [passage omitted] Among the 84 injured, 20 are injured seriously. [end recording]

[Announcer] The president of the Association for the Defense of Human Rights, Mohamed Oumad Soulese, went to the Afar quarter of Arhiba this morning, and he tells what he saw:

[Begin recording] [Soulese] I went to Arhiba, I saw at least 30 corpses gathered together outside Arhiba Mosque. As people were searching the corpses that were behind Arhiba [as heard] a fast police launch fired on the crowd. We do not yet know the exact number of dead.

[Malibot] It is being said that two trucks loaded with people from this district went in the direction of the Theatre des Salines—do you know what happened there?

[Soulese] I have been told that three trucks packed with people rounded up by the police were in this place. We do not know where these people are now.

This morning a policeman was executed, an Afar policeman, along with other Afar gendarmes. He was trying to intercede with his colleagues for old people, women, and children. He was immediately shot dead by hysterical policemen who suspected him of complicity with those arrested. The families of the victims have expressed to me their distress and their confusion faced with France's indifference toward a people. [as heard] [end recording]

[Announcer] That was the president of the Association for the Defense of Human Rights, Mohamed Oumad Soulese. I should further specify that the toll of 30 dead has been denied by the Djibouti Presidency: According to it there are only injured gendarmes and policemen.

Carmen Bader, you have been able to obtain some updated details on the situation in Djibouti.

[Bader] Yes, I will go over this story of the Theatre des Salines a little—this place is situated along the Ambouli road—and apparently an execution took place there and this area is completely sealed off by the security forces. So, this morning several witnesses, including a Frenchman whom we contacted, have counted many corpses. One of them counted 30 corpses in one sector of Arhiba alone, and other people have seen many corpses, including along the shore.

What we know is that yesterday the president received a delegation of Issa personalities—deputies and ministers. Immediately after this meeting rumors were rife in the town that raids would take place in Afar circles, and particularly in Arhiba, and that people could be taken to (Damerjog), near the border with Somalia, and to (Dorale), both of them Issa villages. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] This morning President Gouled received his prime minister, Barkat Gourad. France has expressed its severe condemnation of events in Djibouti; Paris considers that nothing can be achieved without the restoration of a dialogue among the different parties.

Arrested Rebel Spokesman To Face Security Charges

EA1812195591 Djibouti Radio Djibouti in Somali
1700 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] Yesterday, security forces captured Dr. Abbate Ebo Adou, who had acted as the spokesman of a terrorist organization responsible for killing Djibouti civilian and military citizens. Dr. Abate, surprisingly, was sending messages from Djibouti that were intended to overthrow the government. As the government prosecutor on the high court has reported, the major charges against Abbate are organizing disturbances in order to overthrow the government and harming the country's security here and abroad. He is expected to answer these charges.

Ethiopia

Afar Liberation Front Decries 'False Propaganda'

EA1812151591 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia
in English to Neighboring Countries 1530 GMT
17 Dec 91

[Text] The Executive Committee of the Afar Liberation Front, ALF, has said that there are some elements that spread false propaganda claiming that the ALF has an objective of interfering in the internal affairs of the peoples of Eritrea and Djibouti. The committee accused these elements of attempting to besmirch the good name of the Afar Liberation Front by associating it with political groups that intend to profit from these false accusations of the Front by engaging themselves in anti-Charter act.

The Executive Committee of the Afar Liberation Front categorically denied accusations that it allegedly attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of Eritrea by raising the vexed question of the Afar nationality in Eritrea. The committee said that it has no intention to entertain any sort of dispute on this issue and that it opposes the futile attempts of certain political quarters, whose vested interest is to (subject) the Afar people into another fratricidal war.

Kenya

Moi Cited on Party Strength, Urges Citizen Unity

EA1812212091 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting
Corporation Network in English 1600 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Excerpts] His excellency President Daniel arap Moi today told all KANU [Kenyan African National Union] members throughout the country to have a firm and unified stand on issues that affect the welfare of wananchi [citizens]. President Moi said statements from KANU members should be uniform and must reflect the awareness, wishes and the needs of the people. The president called on wananchi to give firm and unwavering support to the ruling party, KANU, so that it can continue steering the country into even greater

heights of development. He said that through the leadership of KANU the country had enjoyed peace since independence, which had enabled wananchi to enjoy the fruits of independence. President Moi was speaking at Kamukunji grounds in Nairobi during a public rally attended by thousands of wananchi from all walks of life.

[Passage omitted] President Moi said that KANU will always strive to steer the nation into the future with confidence in its commitment to improve the welfare of wananchi. He pointed out that with the introduction of a multiparty political system in the country, there was even greater need to support KANU in its efforts to cement national unity.

President Moi said that with the emergence of many parties in the country wananchi should guard against those parties which draw their backing from foreigners as they did not reflect the aspirations of Kenyans. [passage omitted]

The president said Kanu will field one candidate chosen by the popular consent by members of the party to contest future elections. President Moi said KANU will embark on a massive recruitment drive throughout the country from 2nd January next year. He said the exercise will be spearheaded by members of parliament in their respective constituencies, civic leaders, party officials in their branches and not by government officials.

He further called on members of parliament and party officials to hold meetings to discuss with wananchi party matters. President Moi advised wananchi to be cautious of the tactics that will be used by the opposition in a bid to win support. The president advised those few who might feel encouraged to form opposition parties to conduct themselves in a responsible manner, adding that some had already portrayed retrogressive tendencies. He said some members of the emerging opposition had gone to the extent of giving hallucinogenic drugs to the youth in a bid to win their support. He said anyone aspiring to be a leader should never corrupt the youth, saying that instead they should help them take their rightful place in nation building. [passage omitted]

The president said unity in the country and even with the neighbouring countries was vital for development adding that more and more countries were creating economic unions to serve their people better. He said it was in the same spirit that he recently held fruitful discussions with president Ali Hassan Mwinyi of Tanzania and Yoweri Museveni of Uganda. President Moi said the meeting with the two leaders [was] aimed at enhancing economic cooperation between the three East African sister states. [passage omitted]

Mombasa Port Strike Continues; Ships 'Stranded'

AB1812150591 Dakar PANA in English 1203 GMT
18 Dec 91

[Text] Mombasa (Kenya), 18 Dec (KNA/PANA)—Mombasa Port services were paralysed for the

second day running Tuesday [17 December] when over 12,000 striking dock workers refused to resume duties. The Kenya Ports Authority (KPA) workers went on strike on Monday [16 December] over unpaid arrears, accumulated from January 1991. They also demanded salary increment.

Media reports on Wednesday said the workers faced mass dismissal, meaning a possible closure of the port, situated 430 kilometres south-east of Nairobi. Thirteen ships were stranded as the dock workers rejected a memorandum of agreement hammered out by their trade union and the port's management officials.

Two other ships which could not be off loaded, sailed to the Tanzanian port of Dar es Salaam. Port sources said at least five ships were scheduled to sail out Wednesday.

Candidates With Foreign Funding Urged Disqualified

*EA1812145091 Nairobi KTN Television in English
1800 GMT 17 Dec 91*

[Text] Nyeri MP [Member of Parliament] Waihenya Ndirangu today called for the opposition and the ruling party, KANU [Kenya African National Union], to disqualify any person who may be harboring funds abroad from contesting the forthcoming general elections. Ndirangu, who issued a press statement, said that those vying for political posts should put the interests of the people before their own personal interest. Stating that the era of kickbacks, nepotism, and envelopes [subservience] was over, Ndirangu, believed to be the youngest MP in the current Parliament, warned that the present situation must be managed wisely lest power falls into the hands of a few opportunists.

FORD Launches First District Interim Committee

*EA1812145591 Nairobi KTN Television in English
1800 GMT 17 Dec 91*

[Text] As the country approaches multiparty politics, the opposition is bracing itself for the task of commanding grass roots support. Today, the first district interim committee affiliated to the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy, FORD, was launched. The Kiambu district interim committee is to be headed by businessman Ngioma Mwaura, and has among its ranks opposition publisher for FINANCE MAGAZINE, Njehu Gatabaki.

The committee castigated the practice of land grabbing as witnessed in the Ndeiya and Kinari allocation schemes, stating that powerful people were taking advantage of their power to deprive the poor and landless of their rightful land.

FORD's Odinga Cited on Time Needed To Organize

*EA1812214091 Nairobi KTN Television in English
1800 GMT 18 Dec 91*

[Text] The interim FORD [Forum for the Restoration of Democracy] chairman, Oginga Odinga, said today his party needed at least six months to organize itself and achieve its objectives.

He told a press conference at Chester House that FORD hoped to convene a national delegates' convention before February next year, explaining that it would be at that convention that his party's final constitution would be approved. He said the entire FORD membership, currently standing at 42, had agreed that the six founder FORD members act as interim office bearers until the national delegates' convention, where all constitutional positions would be contested democratically by any party member.

KTN Announces Partnership With S. African Firm

*EA1812152091 Nairobi KTN Television in English
1600 GMT 17 Dec 91*

[Text] Jared Kangwana, today announced a partnership agreement between KTN and Media Network Limited, M-Net, of South Africa. He said the exercise to seal the partnership is currently being worked out and will involve M-Net becoming a shareholder on a 50-50 percent basis. Kangwana said the measure being taken by KTN and M-Net is a first concrete business step being taken on the future of KTN.

[Begin Kangwana recording] M-Net is a highly successful pay television network with over 630,000 subscribers in southern Africa. M-Net is recognized worldwide as a leading player in pay television and is currently the third largest service outside the U.S. It has particular strength in technical broadcasting fields and subscription management skills which it will bring to KTN.

KTN is currently, on its part, undertaking a market research to establish whether the demand exists for another channel. In the meantime, however, KTN will adopt a new format from 1992. The station will offer a combined service of both open and pay television consisting of four hours of open broadcasting every evening, and the balance being pay TV in encoded format. The four-hour open window will comprise KTN's well-established formula of quality entertainment and news. During the encoded time, a scrambled signal will be broadcast using proven secure encryption technology.

Subscribers to the service will require a decoder to unscramble the signal to obtain a clear picture and sound. KTN's relationship with M-Net heralds an exciting new era of entertainment and information TV in Kenya. Through this joint venture, advertisers in Kenya will for the first time have an opportunity to advertise their goods and services in South Africa while South

Africa advertisers will similarly be able to promote their goods and services here in Kenya. [end recording]

[Begin South African representative Koos Bekker recording] KTN's program is already very good, but so far it doesn't have the skill to set up a subscribing management, which is really quite complex, and that's the side we'll provide, because programming is less [words indistinct] - let's say that our skills there are less important. But we'll provide testings, we will provide the technical expertise to set up the hard encryption system and the management of that, plus the subscriber-management side, financial and technical skills, and secondly, we'll provide funding. But I think partnerships are very important.

M-Net has 14,000 different shareholders, and included is a wide variety of interests. And you need that because TV tends to be owned not by one person but by a great many interests simultaneously, each bringing to it a certain skill. [end recording]

Uganda

Former Obote Regime Minister Convicted of Treason
*AB1912121691 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 17 Dec 91*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] In Uganda, a former education minister, Professor Isaac Ojock, has been sentenced to death after being found guilty of treason. He was accused of involvement in a rebellion in the north spearheaded by Alice Lakwena and her Holy Spirit Movement. She now lives

in exile in Kenya but remnants of her forces, under a different command, are still active in the north. Prof. Ojock however, had to stand trial. From Kampala, Eppajar Ojullu telexed this report:

[Begin studio announcer recording] Prof. Ojock was arrested in 1987 by the National Resistance Army while he was with Alice Lakwena's forces in a major battle in eastern Uganda. The trial judge, lady Justice Constance Biyamogisha told the packed court yesterday that she was in agreement with the assessors who had earlier found Ojock guilty of treason. The verdict shocked Prof. Ojock. He almost collapsed but was helped out of the dock by prison wardens and was taken to a nearby cell, leaving behind his relatives sobbing in grief.

The judge said that according to the evidence produced by the prosecution, the former minister was part and parcel of the general uprising against the Republic of Uganda by the Holy Spirit Movement of Alice Lakwena. Ojock had pleaded that he had been forced to join the rebel movement by the rebels who would have killed him if he did not do so. He also said that he had been stupefied by liquid concoctions administered on him by Lakwena. Lady Justice Biyamogisha, said that she had found it inconceivable that a man with a high educational standard like Prof. Ojock, a former education professor at Makerere University, could be stupefied by a herbal concoction. At the time of his arrest, Ojock had on him traditional herbs believed by Lakwena's forces to ward off bullets or to neutralize them.

Prof. Ojock is the second politician from the Obote regime to be sentenced to death for treason during President Museveni's government. Another former minister, Chris Wakesisi, was sentenced to death last year for murder. Ojock has 14 days to appeal against the sentence to the Ugandan Supreme Court. [end recording]

Reports on Approach to Codesa Meeting**Buthelezi Not To Attend**

*MB1812200591 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1941 GMT 18 Dec 91*

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 18 SAPA—Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi announced on Wednesday that he would not be attending the Convention for a Democratic South Africa on Friday and Saturday.

In a statement from Ulundi, the kwaZulu chief minister said as the Steering Committee, which met in Johannesburg on Wednesday night, had failed to resolve the impasse of separate delegations for the IFP, the kwaZulu Government and the king, he regretfully announced his withdrawal.

"The outcome of today's Steering Committee amounts to an insult to the dignity His Majesty the King, and I simply cannot endorse this by attending Codesa with the knowledge that the king has been snubbed," he said.

"It was always our understanding that the king and the kwaZulu Government would participate in negotiations about the future of our country.

"We find it contradictory that His Majesty the King, the kwaZulu Government and the kwaZulu Chiefs Caucus attended the National Peace Convention with full delegations, and this is now being denied them," he added.

The statement did not indicate whether the Inkatha Freedom Party would also withdraw from Codesa. It is understood senior IFP officials were discussing the issue with Chief Buthelezi, spokesman Sue Vos told SAPA.

The kwaZulu leader said it was earlier shown how vital the king and his government's role were in attaining peace and stability in the country.

"Now, some wish to refuse them representation, which is rightfully theirs, on all the matters pertaining to the future of South Africa and the Zulu king.

"The king and kwaZulu are a vital part of the South African reality and will have to be afforded the full status of negotiating partners."

The negotiations ahead, he continued, would dispose of boundaries and rewrite the provinces and provincial boundaries and perhaps dividing South Africa into a number of states for a federal or another kind of constitutional structure.

"The people whose boundaries are being altered must be a party to the discussion. This is not negotiable," he said.

"KwaZulu is not a creation of apartheid which can be crossed out of political existence by pens of administrators and negotiators.

"There is danger emerging in South African politics that there are those political leaders who think that the parties of their choice negotiating have a clean slate on which to write anything they want to write upon. [sentence as received] That is simply not the case," he concluded.

Inkatha To Participate

*MB1912141791 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1341 GMT 19 Dec 91*

[By Adrienne Carlisle]

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 19 SAPA—The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) on Thursday confirmed it would attend and participate in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) on Friday and Saturday.

The IFP was fully committed to the success of Codesa, National Chairperson Dr Frank Mdlalose said at a media conference at the World Trade Centre, the venue for the talks.

However, he placed on record what he termed the party's profound scepticism regarding the political significance of Codesa debates that would take place or solutions which would be reached in the absence of relevant players, in particular Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini.

He said IFP President Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's decision to decline his personal invitation to attend was supported by the IFP as the king of the Zulus and his delegation had been snubbed.

Dr Mdlalose said the issue of the king's attendance at negotiations had been raised "long before the preparatory talks on Nov 29".

He said each time the issue was raised with the government, it had given a clear statement to the effect that "it would come to be, there had never been opposition to it at all".

He said the issue had been raised at the Nov 5 meeting of governments of South Africa in Pretoria and it had not met with opposition then.

"Notwithstanding these reservations, the IFP still stands committed in this historic occasion."

Asked whether funding scandals involving Inkatha would have a detrimental effect on Codesa, he said he expected the scandal to continue "installment after installment".

"They will have no effect on clear-thinking people in South Africa," he said.

ANC: Buthelezi Move 'Regrettable'

*MB1912051191 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2052 GMT 18 Dec 91*

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 18 SAPA—The ANC [African National Congress], one of the principal participants in

the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), on Wednesday night described kwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's sudden withdrawal from the gathering as unfortunate and regrettable.

Chief Buthelezi announced his withdrawal from the two-day meeting on Wednesday evening, saying the failure of Codesa's Steering Committee to resolve the question of separate delegations for the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party], the kwaZulu Government and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini was an insult to the king's dignity. He, therefore, could not attend.

Speaking on behalf of the ANC, media official Gill Marcus said while they regretted the IFP leader's decision, the organisation hoped the IFP retained its full participation in Codesa.

"Because the Steering Committee did not solve the problem on Wednesday night, as with all other matters that it has not reached agreement on, the matter has been referred to Codesa itself to take a decision.

"In the light of that, it is deeply regrettable that he did not come to present his case to the full convention," Ms Marcus said.

Chairman: Buthelezi Pull Out Not Harmful

*MB1812204091 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2029 GMT 18 Dec 91*

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 18 SAPA—Dr Zach de Beer, chairman of Codesa's [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] Steering Committee, on Wednesday night said Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's sudden withdrawal from the two-day gathering would not greatly harm the convention as a real national movement.

Chief Buthelezi earlier announced he was withdrawing from Codesa, which starts on Friday, as the committee had failed to resolve the impasse over separate representation for his party, administration and his king.

He did not indicate whether the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] would withdraw. Members were still deliberating the issue.

In his response, Dr de Beer said while he was sorry the withdrawal had occurred, it would not greatly harm Codesa as a national movement.

"It is well known that Inkatha has been seeking additional representation, and the fact that this was not awarded might have been expected to elicit negative reaction.

"I am sorry that this has taken place, but I do not believe it does any great harm to the status of Codesa as a real national movement."

Dr de Beer confirmed that the impasse arose during the final meeting of the committee for Friday's start of talks.

Parties, Movements on Participation

*MB1812195791 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1908 GMT 18 Dec 91*

[By Neil Lewis]

[Excerpts] Johannesburg, Dec 18 SAPA—ANC [African National Congress] President Nelson Mandela was in a politically buoyant mood on the eve of the historic Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) with his life-long dream of a political settlement in the country finally coming to fruition.

In an interview with SAPA at his Johannesburg headquarters on Wednesday, the ANC leader said his organisation's political achievements since his release, particularly Codesa, were a source of encouragement and hope.

"That is why our approach to our political work generally, but Codesa particularly has a great deal of hope and acceptance" from right-thinking South Africans.

Mr Mandela's comments came as sources revealed that the ANC and the government had made great strides in healing the rift over Codesa's exact role.

Sources in Codesa's Steering Committee told SAPA on Wednesday night that all parties had agreed a declaration of intent, to be adopted at the end of Codesa's two-day deliberations in Johannesburg on Saturday, would "politically and morally" bind the participants.

The government had earlier objected to Codesa having "legal force" as it undermined the sovereignty of Parliament.

Through the deal struck, the ANC was effectively recognising the government and sovereignty of Parliament.

Codesa would be empowered, through the declaration, to work on draft texts of changes to the constitution, which could then be enacted by the necessary majority in Parliament.

The ANC source said his organisation put forward the view that an interim government must be in place by the middle of next year. It must have limited duration leading to a constituent assembly.

The ANC's point in the Steering Committee meeting on Wednesday night was that the interim government should last 18 months before elections. [passage omitted]

But even as the remaining participants moved closer than envisaged since their initial meeting on November 29/30 during the preparatory meeting in Johannesburg, grumblings still came from left and rightwing quarters.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht on Wednesday rejected suggestions the Codesa delegates could take legally-binding decisions, and warned Codesa represented "nothing less than a coup by the NP

[National Party]-ANC [African National Congress]-Communist Party alliance".

He demanded an immediate general election be held, saying the National Party had never received any mandate to eliminate Parliament—on the contrary, during the last general election, the NP had instead been mandated to keep Parliament in place until the voters had been consulted.

In similar vein, the Herstigte Nasionale Party [Reformed National Party; HNP] described the forthcoming gathering as a forum to enable the ANC/SACP [South African Communist Party] to continue their "warfare against the Afrikaner nation".

Mr Jaap Marais, leader of the HNP—which is the country's oldest rightwing white party, but has no parliamentary representation—also repeated his earlier decision that the HNP had rejected the invitation to participate in Codesa.

On the black left, the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] reiterated it would not attend Codesa, contending that an alleged breakaway PAC faction, which said it would attend on Friday led by Prince Velakazi Shange, did not represent that PAC at all.

"Mr Shange is a Zulu prince with offices at the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly and the [word indistinct] chairman of the so-called East Rand-West Rand Facilitating Committee, an organisation which claims to represent the PAC but which is operating completely outside our official PAC structures," Mr Alexander said.

Similarly, Azapo [Azanian People's Organization] rejected the coming gathering.

The organisation's president, Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, told a Johannesburg news conference that the convention was a ploy to legitimise the continuation of government by "the ruling class".

"There is no doubt in our minds that all options of the struggle should also be pursued. However, Codesa does not represent a peaceful solution, but a ploy by the ruling class to legitimise their rule," Mr Nefolovhodwe said.

Despite such grumblings, preparations continued unabated.

Codesa officials released its logo and the agenda. Under its officials' watchful eyes, workers feverishly erected makeshift rooms, installed telecommunication equipment and set about curing the nightmare of getting the World Trade Centre near Johannesburg ready for the two-day event.

Implementation of Decisions Agreed

MB1812170591 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1600 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] The leader of the National Party delegation to Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa], Dr. Dawie de Villiers, says that there has been agreement among all parties at Codesa concerning the legal status of decisions taken by the convention.

He said at a news conference in Kempton Park, that all parties were committed to implementing the decisions but that it was understood that these decisions would not be binding under law. He said that there would be a moral and a political obligation on parties to implement Codesa's decisions, but that they could never tie Parliament into an obligation of this nature. Dr. de Villiers said that if agreement were reached on matters at Codesa, the National Party would be morally obliged to give effect to those decisions.

Dr. de Villiers said he regretted that Dr. Andries Treurnicht and the Conservative Party [CP] would not take part in Codesa. He said Codesa provided an important forum which would be used by more than 20 parties to state their views. He said that by not taking part the CP ran the risk of being by-passed by history. Dr. de Villiers said that the majority of South Africans could not be held back by groups to the left or to the right of the political spectrum.

He said it would have been preferred that consensus involving as many as possible parties should provide the basis for a Codesa declaration of intent.

Polish Deputy Foreign Minister Arrives

MB1812102791 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0912 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 18 SAPA—South Africa and Poland are expected to sign agreements for full diplomatic representation on Wednesday, and State President F. W. de Klerk may visit that country in February, Poland's First Deputy Foreign Minister Jerzy Makarczyk said on his arrival at Jan Smuts Airport on Wednesday morning.

He told SAPA that he was to hold discussions with Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Mr De Klerk later in the day to process an exchange of full diplomatic relations and an exchange of ambassadors.

He said there were parallels in the situation of both countries as Poland had recently become a normal democratic country giving "open respect of the human person".

It was high time there was an exchange of ambassadors and Mr Makarczyk was carrying a letter from Polish President Lech Walesa inviting Mr De Klerk to visit Poland.

"I hope it (the visit) will happen in February," he said, adding that a previous planned visit had been postponed due to internal problems in the Soviet Union.

During his four-day visit Mr Makarczyk is also expected to visit townships and make contact with as many of the 15,000 to 17,000 Polish nationals resident in South Africa.

This will be the first meeting with Poles abroad with representatives of a democratic Poland.

Full Diplomatic Relations Restored

*MB1812201491 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in Afrikaans 1800 GMT 18 Dec 91*

[Text] Diplomatic relations between South Africa and Poland have been upgraded to full ambassadorial level. The agreement was signed at the Union Building in Pretoria between the minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, and the Polish deputy foreign affairs minister, Mr. Makarczyk. Mr. Botha hailed it as a unique opportunity and said it indicates the end of an era which separated the countries for a very long time.

[Begin recording] [Botha in English] If we think back this afternoon, of the many years that separated the two countries as a result of ideological differences, all of which came about after the Second World War, then the signing of this agreement signals, also in an historic way, the end, the end of that era in Polish history ... [recording fades]. [end recording]

Mr. Makarczyk said it completes the process of normalizing relations between these two countries and that more agreements between South Africa and Poland would be entered into in the future.

[Begin recording] [Makarczyk in English] We are extremely happy with this ceremony which completes the process of normalization between our countries, but it's also the beginning and we have discussed many new important agreements which are a logical consequence of these facts. Normalization means normalization, not only in the political, but also in the economic, cultural spheres. I hope we would be able to promote investments in our both countries and that we will be able to have a legal framework for that and other matters which we will consider important. [end recording]

Mr. Makarczyk also issued an invitation to State President Mr. F.W. de Klerk to visit Poland. The visit will possibly take place early next year.

Inkatha Memorandum on Draft Constitution

*MB1612155791 Durban ILANGA in Zulu
12-14 Dec 91 p 7*

["News Background" column: "Draft constitution"—article published in English; passages within slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /The Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] this week published its draft constitutional proposals for South Africa. The constitution document itself was preceded by a memorandum setting out the IFP's basic ideas on aspects of the constitution. The memorandum is reprinted on this page. The draft constitution will be published next week./

i. The South African state shall comprise all the territories that formed part of South Africa as at 1910. It is envisaged that the constitution shall have jurisdiction over the whole of South Africa and that a way will be found, through negotiations, to enable Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Venda to re-accede to the new united Republic of South Africa.

ii. The Westminster model on which the original constitution of South Africa was based is one that is familiar to most South Africans. All South Africans have been accustomed to the idea that the Parliament at Cape Town was responsible for all the laws in the country. All legal studies, constitutional history and practice in our country have been on that model. It is for that reason, inter alia, that the IFP has always preferred a single supreme legislature with power to legislate for the whole country.

At the National Convention which produced the first constitution of the South African state, the arguments in favour of a unitary as against a federal state included the idea that it was necessary to ensure that all parts of the country pursued a uniform "Native" policy. History has recorded what that meant in practice. Once more voices are being heard arguing that the merits of an all-powerful centralised legislature will ensure that uniform policies are pursued throughout the country. The reasons given have nothing to do with ensuring full democratic participation for all the people.

Recent history in Africa and elsewhere has compelled the IFP to look again at the merits or otherwise of the unitary state as compared with the federal. The conclusion of the IFP will therefore approach this issue with an open mind. The IFP has been unable to find a model of dictatorship that did not include a high degree of centralisation and desire for legislative uniformity with a minimum devolution of power. It is not the unitary or federal label that will determine the attitude to be adopted to the new constitution. The test will lie in the effectiveness of the division of powers between the central legislature and the regional or state legislatures.

The IFP constitutional proposals will be capable of adaptation either to the unitary or federal structure of government.

iii. /Fundamental Rights and Freedoms/

The proposals of the IFP include a detailed Bill of Rights. The text of the Bill of Rights is virtually identical to that which was included in the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba proposals for state government.

iv. /The Executive/

It should be noted that in strict legal terms the Executive government of the Republic is vested in a State President. The proposals in effect, however, envisage a division of executive power between the State President and a Prime Minister who heads a cabinet. The powers of the State President will be carefully defined. Some powers the President will exercise in accordance with his own deliberate judgement and others will be exercised in accordance with the advice and consent of the Prime Minister. The effect will be similar to the so-called cohabitation system of the French Constitution.

v. /The Legislature/

a. The lower House or National Assembly will be elected by universal adult suffrage by means of proportional representation. It is from the majority party or coalition in this house that a Prime Minister will be chosen to head a cabinet appointed by the said Prime Minister.

b. The second house or Senate should represent the regions or States as well as any special interests which it is felt should be represented in the legislature.

Laws will require to be passed by majorities in both houses of Parliament and assented to by the State President to be valid.

It is proposed that the two houses of parliament should have equal powers to initiate legislation except that the budget should be initiated in the lower house or National Assembly. In other words the power to levy taxes or to make appropriations should be the preserve of the National Assembly. But in general that what is envisaged in legislative practice akin to that of the two houses of Congress in the United States Constitution. It is considered that in the conditions of the modern world the idea of an upper house which has merely the negative powers of delay, review and veto is not good constitutional practice. The upper house should in fact be a fully functioning house. This would compel a system of constructive co-operation between the two houses of Parliament.

It is already apparent that difficulties may be experienced in negotiations over the constitution of the Senate which is designed to reflect substantially interests which may not always coincide with the wishes of the lower house. But this should not be assumed. The democratically elected Senate composed largely of regional or state representatives could very well also reflect the majority party or coalition in the National Assembly.

vi. /State Government/

A great deal of attention was devoted to this subject in the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba and the conclusions thereof were by and large welcomed by the IFP as a good starting point.

Following up on the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba proposals the IFP proposes that the existing provinces, national states and (if they re-accede to the RSA) the independent

states should be replaced by the creation of State governments based on more logical economic, territorial, cultural and linguistic factors. A special state boundaries commission should be appointed immediately to consult the entire population and produce a report on State boundaries.

Each state shall have a State legislature elected on the basis of proportional representation. The powers of the States should be clearly set out in the constitution and such powers should be entrenched. The States shall have an executive headed by a State Premier and a Governor representing the central government and the State President. It should be provided that the States will have sole right to legislate on matters within their competence.

An apparent novelty provided for in the KwaZulu-Natal proposals was that the cabinet appointed by the Premier should reflect all the parties represented in the legislature. It was assumed that the parties concerned would tend to represent various cultural communities or the South African community as a whole. This would obviously depend on the voting patterns revealed in any state election. But the idea was to modify or eliminate the idea of "winner takes all" at the State level. The tendency away from partisanship at state or local levels in one which could encourage reconciliation and co-operation and ensure full participation by all at State and Local levels.

vii. /The Judiciary/

It is proposed to appoint judges for a new judiciary. It is suggested that the constitution provide for a judicial service commission to in effect make recommendations to be State President for appointments to the judiciary in place of the present system. The judicial service commission under the Chairmanship of the Chief Justice shall also supervise all lower courts and appoint regional and local magistrates. The standard provisions to ensure the independence of the judiciary should be incorporated in the constitution to determine the validity of laws passed by the central legislature, the state legislatures and local authorities as well as the right to interpret laws.

This will be a departure from the present position in which the validity of parliamentary legislation cannot be questioned by the judiciary. Also the Bill of Rights shall be justiciable and thus form part of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.

viii. /Civil Service Commission/

It is proposed that a Civil Service Commission should be set up as part of the constitution. The Civil Service Commission shall be charged with the recruitment and supervision of civil servants in accordance with Public Service Acts and with General Orders issued by the Prime Minister. It shall be the task of the Civil Service Commission, inter alia, to ensure that the civil service is representative of all population groups in the country in addition to its normal duties with regard to preservation of standards and merit. Special provisions shall be

required initially to upgrade Blacks in the civil service taken as a whole. Such measures should include attractive compensation to encourage early retirement in order to make way for citizens hitherto excluded from the upper rungs of the public service. These provisions should be included in the constitutional powers of the Civil Service Commission.

ix. /The Disciplined Forces/

The IFP is in favour of impartial, professional services owing allegiance to the constitution only. In accordance with the usual provisions in most constitutions the armed services should be the responsibility of the State President assisted by the State Security Council. But the National police should be the responsibility of the Prime Minister. Provision should be made for State and Local police operating under the jurisdiction of the State Governments.

x. /Traditional Government/

The IFP is in favour of provisions that provide for recognition and powers of traditional rulers and authorities as well as courts. The present position in which these authorities are the plaything of government of the day, and numerous contradictory legislative measures must be corrected with the adoption of suitable constitution provisions. Any participatory democracy in our country will require proper attention to be paid to this aspect. The linking of traditional authorities with economic development could ensure that progress in the country reaches down to village level thus improving the quality of life of all the people in town and country alike.

xi. /Transitional Provisions and Savings/

The IFP considers that the constitution negotiation should not be viewed as a single one-off event in which the perfect constitution will be produced at one fell swoop. A situation may arise in which very substantial agreement is reached with one or two aspects that cannot be agreed. Instead of delaying implementation of a democratic constitution the country may well have to settle for a flawed constitution which does not in all its aspects comply with full democracy. If, for example, special provisions have to be adopted to allay the fears of minorities these should be clearly specified and possibly given limited validity for a period of five or ten years. This would be preferable to negating the entire democratic process as a result of an all-or-nothing approach. But in general the IFP considers that the principles of democracy as practised in the advanced democracies are fairly well known, tried and tested. These principles should not be departed from unduly by the introduction of features that are so novel and imaginative as to cast doubt on the credibility and integrity of the new constitution as an instrument of democracy and freedom. The kernel of the new democracy in South Africa is the unambiguous and clearly perceived emancipation of

formerly oppressed peoples. In order to command widespread allegiance and respect the new democratic non-racial constitution must clearly reflect the freedom of the people of South Africa.

Convergence in ANC-IFP-NP Thinking Examined

MB1612175491 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
16 Dec 91 p 9

[Article by Shaun Johnson, political editor: "Three corners of SA [South Africa's] future"]

[Text] The pieces are gradually falling into place. If you had a Lego set and some time on your hands, you could now build yourself constitutional models of the future South Africa as dreamt up by the three major parties to negotiations.

The publication last week of the Inkatha Freedom Party's [IFP] "Draft Constitution for the RSA"—just in time for the historic Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa)—means that the National Party [NP], the African National Congress [ANC] and the IFP have now all set down the principled bench-marks from which they will proceed to negotiate an eventual compromise.

As is clear from the summaries, there is a notable degree of convergence among the three visions of the future—at least at the level of terminology. For example all three want a unified, rather than balkanised, South Africa; they favour proportional representation; they like the idea of having two Houses of Parliament; they envisage constitutional sovereignty and place great store by an enforceable bill of rights. Beneath the broad brushstrokes, of course, the parties have very different practical results in mind—although it is heartening to note that each has been at pains to stress that the proposals should be regarded as being in draft, rather than final, form. In his preface to the IFP constitution, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi refers to it as a "working document for study and debate ... made to enrich the debate and should not be seen as all-or-nothing proposals.

"No political party should adopt constitutional non-negotiables, which are beyond the reach of give-and-take politics in which the spirit of compromise should prevail."

The IFP model, the newest addition to the constitutional debate, leans more towards the NP vision than to the ANC blue-print, most clearly in its emphasis on devolved power and restrictions on the latitude enjoyed by central government.

However, it is far from being a rehash of the NP document in different words. It contains some proposals not to be found in either of the earlier constitutional drafts.

The overarching premise is that of achieving checks and balances over a future central government. The "winner-takes-all" scenario is of as much concern to the IFP as it

is to the NP. Chief Buthelezi notes in his preface that "it would be extremely difficult to over-emphasise the importance of regionalism in South African constitutional development".

Unique contributions include detailed sections on the role of traditional leaders, detailed guidelines for security detention in future, and the allowance for "provisionals" constitutional clauses to be in force while finality is sought. The IFP is also the only party to propose the re-emergence of the title of "governor" in South African politics, favouring such an individual being appointed in each region (or "state") as an on-the-spot representative of the central government.

Although neither the ANC nor the NP have reacted to the IFP proposals, it is certain they will be studied carefully and urgently—especially in the light of speculation that Codesa could itself be a constitution-making body in embryo.

THE IFP VISION

The IFP envisages a united, democratic, nonracial South Africa which could take on a unitary or a federal form—on condition it provides for far-reaching power division between central legislature and regional or State legislatures.

Key components could be:

A reunified state, including the RSA, self-governing territories and "independent" homelands. The "reaccession" of the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda Ciskei] states is to be negotiated.

Three branches of government: the executive, legislature and judiciary.

A division of power between a state president and a prime minister who heads the cabinet. The president would have individual powers while others would be subject to consultation with the prime minister—a system known as cohabitation.

A lower House or National Assembly elected by universal adult suffrage by means of proportional representation. The prime minister is chosen by the majority party or coalition.

A second House or Senate representing regions or states and any special interests which should be represented.

Laws would be passed by majorities in both Houses and assented to by the state president. The two Houses would have equal power to initiate legislation, but the Budget would emanate from the National Assembly. The Senate's role would be functioning and not limited to delay, review and veto.

State boundaries would be redrawn according to logical factors including economic and cultural. Each state would have a state legislature elected via proportional representation. Its powers would be clearly defined and

constitutionally entrenched. State executive would be headed by a state premier, and a governor representing the central government. States would have the sole right to legislate on matters within their competence. Mechanisms to avoid "winner-takes-all" in elections would be encouraged.

A new judiciary would be appointed, with power to question legislation emanating from Parliament and with jurisdiction over a bill of rights.

A civil service commission would be provided for in the constitution, and would be charged with ensuring that the civil service was more representative of the population. The armed forces would fall under the state president and the national police would be the responsibility of the prime minister. Provision would be made for state and local police, responsible to state governments.

Provision would be made to recognise the powers of traditional rulers and courts as well as transitional provisions in the constitution.

THE NAT VISION

The National Party envisages a united, democratic, nonracial South Africa, with heavy emphasis on devolution of power from central government to regional and local authorities, and weighted representation for minorities.

Key components could be:

A unitary state, comprising the present RSA, including self-government territories, but with a strong federal flavour. The status of the TBVC states has not yet been made clear.

Three branches of government: the executive, legislature and judiciary.

A multiparty Executive College to head the State, consisting of between three and five members of the strongest parties in the first House of Parliament, decided by consensus.

These parties together should command a majority of the representatives in this House. The chairmanship of the Executive College would operate on a rotational basis. A multiparty Cabinet would be appointed on the basis of consensus by the Executive College, and would follow its policy.

The first House would be elected by proportional representation. The powers of the majority would be limited by an increased majority for some "sensitive" matters and agreement with a second House of Parliament.

The second House would be the seat of power of minorities, representing the proposed nine regions. Each party achieving more than a minimum support level in elections for that region would get equal seats. The second House would, by a simple majority, approve ordinary

laws passed by the first House; by a two-thirds majority amend the constitution, or laws affecting regions or minorities.

Elections would be held regularly. The use of **proportional representation** in elections for the first House does not rule out the possibility of some parallel constituency representation.

The NP plan makes no mention of a **constitutional court** but stresses that its philosophical basis is a "regstaat" (untranslatable, but roughly a "rule-of-law" state). The constitution would be alterable only by special procedures in the two Houses of Parliament.

Each of the **regions** would have a legislature, chosen by a mix of direct elections and possibly indirect election from representatives of local legislatures. Each region would have an **executive committee**.

The **regional and local authorities** would enjoy autonomous powers over as yet unspecified matters.

A **bill of fundamental rights** would be enshrined in the constitution. The courts would be empowered to enforce it.

THE ANC VISION

The ANC envisages a united, democratic, nonracial and non-sexist South African republic, with only limited powers devolved from central to regional and local structures, and no special dispensation for minority groups.

Its key components and characteristics could be:

A **unitary state**—a single, non-fragmented entity including Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei, with a strong central government.

Three branches of government: the **executive, legislature and judiciary**.

A **president**, who would be head of the executive and head of state. A Cabinet would be headed by a prime minister, who would be subordinate to, but act in consultation with, the president. Both the prime minister and the Cabinet would be appointed by the president.

Two houses of Parliament. The first a National Assembly, elected on the basis of proportional representation by universal suffrage. Primary legislative power would be vested in this House.

The second House would be a Senate, also elected by universal suffrage, but on a different electoral system allowing for regional—though not ethnic—representation. The Senate would refer constitutional disputes to the appropriate courts and have the power of review. It would be able, where appropriate, to delay legislation from the Assembly but not to veto it. Elections would be held at intervals of not more than five years. The use of proportional representation means there would be no delimitation of constituencies. These

could be both national and regional electoral lists, with regions given, for example, half the available seats.

A constitutional court would interpret the constitution and the application of the law.

Positions in organs of local and regional government would be elected by universal franchise.

Regions would be based on the distribution of population, availability of economic resources, and urban/rural balances. Central government would control external relations, defence and security; general economic, fiscal and tax policy; national policy frameworks; and resources for social upliftment and the removal of imbalances in society.

A justiciable **bill of rights** would protect rights and freedoms, including economic rights. A **human rights commission** would investigate violations and a **public service commission** would be established to implement an affirmative action programme. An independent **ombudsman** would investigate complaints.

Hani Attacks White Military Conscription Plan

MB1412083591 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
13 Dec 91 p 11

[Report by "Political Reporter": "Government Arrogant Over Call-Up—Hani"]

[Text] The ANC [African National Congress] and its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation; MK], have strongly criticised the Government's decision to maintain the 12-month period of national service for white males.

MK chief of staff Chris Hani said yesterday the decision, announced by Defence Minister Roelf Meyer, reflected the arrogance of the Government "when dealing with serious matters".

With multiparty constitutional negotiations formally starting next week at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), he would have expected the Government to have negotiated all matters regarding the defence forces with the ANC and other liberation armies.

The head of the ANC's department of information and publicity, Dr Pallo Jordan, said continued conscription for one racial community was alarming.

"In its conception, structure and whole ethos, the SADF [South African Defense Force] is not a defence force of the people but the military arm of the dominant white minority," he said.

Addressing a press conference in Johannesburg to publicise details of MK's 30th anniversary celebrations on Monday, Mr Hani added that MK would never amalgamate with the SADF.

A new defence force would have to be formed, including elements of all armies, including the SADF, MK and homeland armies, once a new government was in place.

Mr Hani added that MK commands had been set up in several regions of the country to exercise control over the army and soldiers returning from exile.

National Peace Secretariat Pleased With Progress

*MB1312172491 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1500 GMT 13 Dec 91*

[Text] The National Peace Secretariat says it's satisfied with the progress it's making. Secretariat chairman, Antonie Gildenhuys, told a media conference in Johannesburg what the Secretariat has achieved in the 35 days of its existence. John Matham has the story:

[Matham] The Secretariat's chief goal is to prevent political violence with the setting up of Regional and Local Dispute Resolution Committees. Gildenhuys says to date two regional and two local committees have been established. He adds that the groundwork has been done for the setting up of four more. He admits that the Secretariat would like to move quicker. He adds that setting up a dispute resolution committee often involves long and hard bargaining between parties who are often more used to fighting than talking. Secretariat member, Peter Gastrow, believes the Natal Committee set up two days ago has the best chance of success. He says this is because of the province's history of political bargaining.

'Smoldering Emotions' Seen

*MB1312100791 Johannesburg South Africa
Broadcasting Corporation Network in English
0500 GMT 13 Dec 91*

[Text] The National Peace Secretariat says it enjoys wide credibility and all parties are making a concerted effort to get the National Peace Accord to work. However, the secretariat has warned in a statement in Johannesburg that there are smoldering emotions in many regions and that one wrong move could cause a severe setback. The chairman of the secretariat, Dr. Antonie Gildenhuys, says that it will only be possible to judge the practical efficiency of the various committees once they start operating.

The following regions have been identified as areas for the establishment of regional dispute resolution committees: Natal-KwaZulu, Witwatersrand-Vaal, northern Transvaal-Pretoria, northern Cape, western Cape, the Orange Free State, western Transvaal, eastern Transvaal, Border-Ciskei and the eastern Cape.

Amnesty International Team Begins Violence Probe

*MB0412133791 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1251 GMT 4 Dec 91*

[By Sue Thomas]

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 4 SAPA—A four-member Amnesty International team on Wednesday began a two-week investigation into political killings and allegations of security force complicity.

At a press conference in Johannesburg on Wednesday, the team said Amnesty International had expressed concern that in some cases member of the security forces appeared to be directly implicated in the killings.

"In other cases the police and other authorities appear to have failed to take appropriate action to bring those responsible to account."

The organisation had noted there had been positive developments in the human rights situation in South Africa since February 1990, including the unbanning of political organisations, the decline in the use of detention without trial and the halt to executions of prisoners sentenced to death.

"However, Amnesty International is gravely concerned at the deterioration in other areas of human rights."

Political and human rights activists and others had died as a result of assassinations; large-scale, armed attacks on whole communities; attacks on black commuters, funeral mourners and others; assault and torture of prisoners in police custody; the police misuse of lethal force against demonstrators.

"The organisation is concerned about evidence which implicates members of the security forces in some of these acts, as well as the failure in most cases of the criminal justice system to investigate these violations and bring those responsible to justice."

They said they would also be looking at the effectiveness of structures created under the National Peace Accord, including the implementation of a code of conduct for the police.

The delegation is led by Mr Stephan Owe, ombudsmans for British Columbia, Anada. The other delegates are former director of the Dutch police academy Dr Piet van Reenen of the Netherlands, Ms Mary Reyner of the United Kingdom and Mr Joseph Gitari of Kenya.

Amnesty Team Briefs Media

*MB1312160391 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1500 GMT 13 Dec 91*

[Text] A delegation from Amnesty International is concerned at Security Force involvement in political violence. The delegation of four visitors has given a news conference in Durban. Shawn Feely reports:

[Feely] The international human rights delegation said the information they have received indicates that the Security Forces are not stepping in to save lives and conflict when they obviously have the capacity to do so. Addressing a media conference in Durban today, they said the issue of a direct Security Force involvement in the political violence is far more complex. The Amnesty

International delegation released reports, particularly from the Reef, to show that there are gunmen operating possibly as a third force. But it's not clear from the evidence how closely they are linked to the state Security Forces or the organization. The delegation is to visit Cape Town later today before reporting back to Amnesty Headquarters in London, where they will release a full account of their fact-finding mission.

Inkatha, ANC Clash on Local Conflict Groups

MB1212193491 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1649 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 12 SAPA—The Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) has accused the rival African National Congress (ANC) of provoking violence at IFP rallies in black townships, and of lying and cheating.

The allegations were made by IFP leader Mr Themba Khoza on Thursday—the same day the party participated in the establishment of a Local Dispute Resolution Committee (LDRC) for Greater Soweto.

LDRCs are being established all over South Africa in terms of the National Peace Accord in an effort to end the bloodshed, blamed mostly on rivalry between the IFP and the ANC, which has torn the country apart.

Ms Val Pauquet, personal assistant to Mr John Hall, chairman of the National Peace Committee (NPC), told SAPA by telephone that a committee was established on Thursday afternoon after a meeting in Soweto between various parties representing a wide section of the community.

At a press conference in Johannesburg a few hours later Mr Khoza appeared to ignore the tenets of the accord as he made various accusations against the ANC.

He alleged that when an IFP rally was due to be held in Mofolo North in Soweto on September 8, several people, including party members, were asked to participate in an attack on the mainly Zulu-speaking supporters.

IFP supporters were also recruited for an ambush on a rally on Sunday in Zondi, also in Soweto.

Mr Khoza alleged that a prominent member of the ANC had been involved in Sunday's attack.

He refused to identify the man, apart from saying he lived in Zondi and was a member of the area's civic association.

Mr Khoza said the matter had been reported to the police, but would only identify the policemen as those investigating current violence.

During the press conference the IFP spokesman was asked about a handwritten statement faxed to SAPA in which he said Thursday's meeting to establish Soweto's LDRC had been cancelled.

According to the statement the cancellation was "due to the failing of the ANC to apologise about their Monday statement concerning the Dobsonville massacre".

On Thursday afternoon Mr Khoza said the statement was a "wrong statement": someone had mistakenly put the word "cancelled" instead of the word "adjourned".

The IFP spokesman said the meeting to form the LDRC on Thursday had been adjourned twice.

The first adjournment came when the Inkatha delegation asked the ANC to apologise for making allegations that the IFP had been responsible for a massacre in Dobsonville, Soweto, over the weekend.

Mr Khoza said an IFP team had established that the killing had been the result of a love affair.

"We appeal to the ANC to publicly apologise. It wasn't just the IFP they insulted, but they cheated the whole world."

Earlier Mr Khoza said the congress had lied to the world about the massacre.

During the LDRC meeting the ANC apologised "in an indirect way", by becoming "milder" in their allegations. The IFP therefore took the view the ANC had not in fact apologised.

If Mr Mandela's organisation had made the admission, it would have proved "they were committed to peace rather than" to saving face, Mr Khoza said.

"The ANC was too arrogant to apologise," which nearly jeopardised the meeting, he said.

The second adjournment came after Soweto Civic Associations requested they be allowed to join a temporary LDRC committee that it was proposed be put in place over the festive season.

Mr Khoza said it was eventually decided not to go ahead with the temporary committee, but to use structures already in place until the LDRC could begin operating in January.

During the press conference there was a sharp exchange of words between the IFP spokesman and journalists.

Mr Khoza was asked to comment on allegations made by residents in Dobsonville that they were being attacked by Zulu-speakers.

He said he had grown up in Soweto and went there often and many people spoke the language in the township.

"Politically speaking," the language issue was being promoted to smear the IFP "and you better learn that!" Mr Khoza told the journalist.

She replied she had nothing to learn from the IFP spokesman and was merely asking him questions.

There was then a dispute as to whether Mr Khoza had said everyone in the township spoke Zulu or just most people.

Bomb Explodes Outside Pretoria COSATU House
MB1912072591 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0709 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Pretoria Dec 19 SAPA—Considerable damage was caused to COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] House in Pretoria by a bomb blast at 1:15AM on Thursday.

Police Warrant Officer [W/O] Evan Johnson said a 41-year-old man was slightly injured.

No one had claimed responsibility for the explosion, W/O Johnson said.

The explosive device ripped a 0.5m hole into the pavement outside COSATU House, in Brown Street.

Damage was also caused to window panes of surrounding shops.

Journalists, ANC Spokesman on Press Freedom
MB1412082991 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in English 1830 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Documentary by reporter Cliff Saunders on freedom of press, containing interviews with Aggrey Klaaste, SOWETAN editor; Mandla Langa, ANC—African National Congress—spokesman; and journalist Donald Woods, date and place not given; on the "Agenda" program—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Saunders] A big question mark hangs over the future of media freedom in South Africa as the country heads towards major changes. In the STAR newspaper in October, Mr. Justice Pierre Olivier, of the South African Law Commission warned that politicians who think they will come into power will profess to protect freedom of speech and of the press, but in the end, they will keep the back door open. Several interviews conducted on the topic have indicated that this is a warning well worth heeding.

Events in many parts of Africa, where independence led to total control of the media by the government, are causing real concern in South Africa as well, as the country moves towards a new dispensation.

Even the editor of the SOWETAN, Mr. Aggrey Klaaste, is worried about the problem. Mr. Klaaste is particularly worried about a possible new black government in South Africa inheriting a situation of instability and structural collapse while masses of people demand their promises of a better life be kept. His views on probable government reaction:

[Klaaste] They will have to become rather aggressive in trying to keep down people. They would probably have to look at, as you say, at controlling the press. They will

have to rather become like tyrants because it's going to be very difficult to satisfy the legitimate demands of millions of people whose lives are, as far as I'm concerned, in total ruin today. Now that danger does exist, and it might not only be, in might also be a problem facing a mixed government if that comes. So that to stop that (?fact) the government will have to become much more autocratic as happened in other African states because that's just the common sense of the process.

[Saunders] You mean the media could be victims of that as well?

[Klaaste] Yes, absolutely the media could suffer under that.

[Saunders] This [word indistinct] that the SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] as the biggest mass communicator was regarded all the years, as if not directly controlled by the government, then definitely the government is supporting it. Now should the majority government come into power, do you not simply expect a repetition of that situation, the new government will move in and say right now we control SABC?

[Klaaste] Well, we do expect that. Unfortunately, that is part of human nature. People always say we must try and learn from the mistakes of history, but unfortunately we don't do that. What needs to be done now, even the before the new South Africa gets into place, is a great deal of educating through the media—SABC, through the newspapers—the people as to what makes countries work. I mean if people can understand that for a government to take over the media does not make a country to work economically and otherwise. They just have to understand that truth.

[Saunders] During a recent ANC conference in London, the role of the media in South Africa was among the main topics discussed. Pledges of support for democratically based media freedom in a future South Africa were readily given by the ANC's deputy chief representative in the United Kingdom, Mr. Mandla Langa. He did not even believe that a new government would introduce media control because of instability.

[Langa] We always think that barring anything catastrophic happening, the transition to democracy in South Africa will be much more peaceful than is being proclaimed, or being, how to say this, prophesied by a number of even shrewd political analysts. We think that there won't be a necessity for this kind of state control.

[Saunders] Now regarding the role of the SABC as national broadcaster, do you see in future any major changes in the policies, in the management of the SABC, of necessity taking place?

[Langa] Yes, that is a very fundamental thing that needs to happen. That is why, for instance, in the context of the dialogue that is taking place between the South African regime and ourselves, the issue of the SABC, of the

media, as it were, is also high on the agenda. So there will have to be a lot of changes in the SABC. As to how those changes can be formulated at this specific moment, this can be understood from what has been verbalized by a lot of the (?television) as a democratization of the airwaves.

[Saunders] The general secretary of the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress], Mr. Benny Alexander, also promotes media freedom. But appears to have some qualifications.

[Alexander] The PAC will stand for an independent media, but I do not think that PAC would allow the media to undermine very seriously the interest of the masses. I think the PAC will put forward very clear guidelines, and within these perimeters there would be freedom of the press.

[Saunders] Back at the ANC conference in London, veteran newspaper editor Mr. Donald Woods, who fled from South Africa in the mid-seventies, and now specializes in lectures and interviews on radio and television in both Europe and the United States on media issues, summed up for us what he had been telling the ANC supporters at the conference which he addressed.

[Woods] The sort of thing I've been attacking at the symposium today, this notion of political loyalty by journalists, is a terrible thing. When a journalist is politically loyal to a movement or a party, what happens is his independence hoes out the window, and the greatest loser there is the country and the party he is trying to help.

[Saunders] One of these views that you have been expressing, Mr. Woods, have been hopes, but realistically again, do you really think that during the period of transition in South Africa media freedom can be assured?

[Woods] Yes, you see also because South Africa in a sense has been fast-forwarded compared with, say Zambia, Kenya, and these other places. Our history has been compacted at a quicker rate, therefore I think it's going to take South Africa less time to get through the difficulties of transition.

[Saunders] The SABC as the national broadcaster in South Africa in the new dispensation, do you see drastic changes taking place in management, in policies etcetera?

[Woods] I don't know, I mean, as I say I've seen improvements that are worthy. And ideally the SABC, South Africa Television, should be a representative national body, and who is to say they can't do this. My only worry is it depends on the officials running it, much more than on the journalists in it. It depends on whether that mind-set can be opened up sufficiently. [passage omitted]

* SADF Concerns Over Restructuring Viewed

92AF0136D Johannesburg FINANCIAL MAIL
in English 11 Oct 91 pp 24, 26

[Text] Outside the office of the Chief of the SA Defence Force [SADF], in the elegant Defence Headquarters building in Pretoria, dating back to the time of Paul Kruger, there is a small display board. It lists the unbroken line of men who have headed the SA [Republic of South Africa] armed forces since 1912. There are 14 in all, starting with Brigadier General Collyer, taking in names like General Sir Pierre van Ryneveld and Admiral Hugo Biermann, and ending with the present incumbent, General Kat Liebenberg. The board represents a tradition that the SADF is desperate to uphold.

Not for the first time in its history, it is threatened by politicians.

The immediate worry is financial. Like any army after a war has been concluded, the SADF has suffered drastic budget cuts and it faces more. The navy and armaments manufacturer Armscor [South African Armaments Corporation] have been particularly affected.

The percentage of GNP [gross national product] spent on defence was never excessive, one of the lowest in the world—though there was always a hidden cost in removing skilled people from the economy. However, even if the defence budget was unreasonably high, the country has such pressing needs elsewhere that the defence establishment must make sacrifices.

The second threat is a political one: more complicated and peculiar to SA. There is a perception, strongest among the former liberation movements, that the SADF has long been an agent of the National Party [NP]. The other major political player, the African National Congress [ANC], believes that the SADF cannot be allowed to survive in its present form, because for the ANC it is associated with apartheid, oppression and death squads. There is an argument that the SADF should be amalgamated with the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) [Spear of the Nation], to form an entirely new supposedly more balanced force.

There is an understandable political motivation for this, but militarily it verges on nonsense. Even observers sympathetic to the ANC estimate that a maximum of 13,000 cadres have been trained by MK since 1976. About 6,000 were infiltrated into SA; about 700 of these were killed or captured by security forces; and the rest are believed to be "passive deserters," as Howard Barrell puts it in his book on MK. Barrell also admits that there was no revolutionary war, that MK offered "no serious armed or insurrectionary contention for State power." This is in huge contrast to Rhodesia, for instance, where guerrilla armies effectively controlled half the country by 1978.

Of the MK cadres still outside SA—about 7,000, by Barrell's reckoning—it can be expected that many would not wish to continue as professional or part-time soldiers

once a new constitution is in place. Therefore, when the question of amalgamation with the SADF arises, the total MK component is unlikely to be more than 5,000.

Contrast this with the SADF, which has been training thousands of men every year for nearly three decades. There is a Permanent Force [PF] establishment of about 30,000; apart from specialist professionals like pilots, this is essentially concerned with administration, command and training. There is only a handful of PF army combat units. The ordinary soldiering is done by the conscripted fulltime National Servicemen (20,000 every year); and by part-time volunteers and conscripts in the Citizen Force [CF] (180,000) and Commandos (135,000). In addition there are on the Reserve 155,000 older men.

Thus, in theory, the SADF can call on over half a million trained men. Even though it would be impossible to call them all up at once, and many would be difficult to trace, this is the most formidable defence force in sub-Saharan Africa.

The manpower is combined with a substantial conventional capacity. The army can call on three part-time divisions; there is also a rapid deployment force which includes 44 Parachute Brigade (mainly CF) and 60 Brigade (mainly PF members and National Servicemen). This capacity has never remotely been tested: the largest conventional force deployed in Angola was the equivalent of a single brigade.

This is why MK cannot be taken seriously in military terms. It is an army only in the loosest sense and relatively small. It has no artillery, no tanks, no aircraft, no ships. Its limited successes in the field were almost entirely based on expertise in sabotage and small-scale guerrilla operations. As an army, MK at no stage took on the SADF.

So the question of amalgamation, militarily, does not even arise. But it remains a political flashpoint.

The SADF itself would prefer to wait until a new constitution is negotiated, meanwhile maintaining its strength by continuing conscription of young white men. But within a year or two, change will be unavoidable. It is already unfair that only white men should be conscripted, but it would be impractical even to consider a universal non-racial conscription; the cost would be prohibitive.

One seductive option is to have armed forces composed entirely of volunteers, as is the case in the U.S. and Britain. But there are powerful impediments.

Again, there is the cost factor. Full-time volunteers must be treated as career professionals, and competitive packages would have to be offered to draw enough people of quality.

On a more subtle level, a standing army can be a political threat, especially in an unstable country. As General Liebenberg himself points out, a large professional army

(which has been suggested by the ANC's Chris Hani) is an invitation for a coup; a citizen's army is an automatic restraint.

Another option would be to combine a small PF element with a selective ballot, as was used to call up white men in the Fifties and early Sixties. Naturally such a ballot would have to be applied to all races, using a post-apartheid voters' roll.

In Namibia, the army's manpower has been doubled in order to alleviate unemployment. This option should be avoided. It would be highly inflationary, and dangerous—in an age of sophisticated weaponry—to arm people for the wrong reasons. If there is a need for a State-organised social services corps, let it be just that.

The SADF's most sensible route would probably be to attract more volunteers on a short-service or part-time basis. Structurally, it will in any case be essential to maintain the CF regiments and the Commando system.

Whatever method is decided on, a symbolic gesture will have to be made to accommodate remaining elements of MK. General Liebenberg refuses even to consider this while the ANC still reserves the right to resume "armed struggle." The SADF objects to negotiating with a body that owes allegiance to a particular political grouping, when the SADF's own members are forbidden any active involvement beyond voting in elections.

Assuming "armed struggle" is ended, Liebenberg would have no political objection to MK members joining various SADF units, but he is nervous about the effect this could have on the morale of present members. This is partly a problem of former enemies becoming colleagues—but it is not insurmountable: the old Union Defence Force managed to achieve reconciliation between Boer and Brit remarkably quickly.

What is especially worrying to senior SADF officers is the prospect of imposed affirmative action. Quite rightly, they reject the idea that a man trained essentially as a guerrilla could be appointed to a senior command position above the heads of officers with many years of formal training. It did happen after World War II: certain Afrikaner officers who refused to serve were promoted to ranks that "they would have had had they seen active war service."

Another option being considered in establishment military circles is the formation of an MK unit within the SADF. This should be strenuously resisted. It would almost certainly cause more problems than it might solve. The same should apply when, as seems likely, the armies of the nominally independent "homelands" have to be incorporated into the SADF. Otherwise the potential for factional violence would be terrifying.

Perhaps the SADF could draw profitably on the running of the Indian Army under the British, who had a deliberate policy of mixing Hindu, Moslem and Sikh. Religious differences came to be overridden by loyalty to the regiment.

The Zimbabwean experience is also instructive. After independence, British officers and NCOs were called in to help oversee the amalgamation of forces. Even though there is no comparable colonial power to help SA achieve this, there are traditional military links with the British, Portuguese and Americans (and, for MK, with the Soviets). It might just be worth the SADF swallowing its pride and asking for outside help.

Let us assume that the ANC comes to power after democratic elections. Its defence force will be essentially white, with important black combat components. Though the SADF seems weak in administrative and logistical capacity (this was shown in Angola in the late Eighties) and though some of its equipment is dangerously obsolescent (aircraft and ships in particular), it remains a potent military machine. Operationally it is tough and experienced and its military doctrine has honed the Boer tradition of mobility and quick reaction, along with the British legacy of regimental honour and discipline.

Like the Nats in the Fifties, the ANC will not be comfortable with the survival of "colonial" regiments like the Cape Town Rifles, Transvaal Scottish, Prince Alfred's Guard, the Natal Carbineers and the Kafrarian Rifles. Nor will the ANC be happy with Boer-derived units like Regiment Botha and the various Commandos.

But it must resist the temptation to tamper. A neutral SADF will be the safeguard for a fledgling democracy, and say traditions of neutrality must be built upon that fact.

There is, of course, an increasingly popular view that we no longer need a defence force. It assumes that, because apartheid was the dominant source of friction in southern Africa for so long, the demise of this ideology will remove all conflict.

This view is naive. It assumes that solidarity created by anti-apartheid feelings will endure regardless of other factors, and ignores the dangerous unpredictability of politics—especially in Africa.

Who can say what the geopolitics of the region will dictate a decade from now? Who can guarantee that SA will not be at war with one of its neighbours over land or minerals or food or water? And if a regional Saddam Husayn were somehow to come to power, who would stop him?

As the German philosopher Von Clausewitz argued, he who wants peace must prepare for war.

* Armscor's FT5 Antitank Weapon Described

92AF0136A Johannesburg ARMED FORCES
in English Oct 91 pp 9-10

[Excerpt] The latest addition to the global arsenal of light anti-tank weapons, FT5, has been in full-scale production now for more than two years. FT5 was developed to meet a South African Defence Force [SADF] requirement for a man-portable, easy-to-use, light anti-tank weapon capable of destroying a Soviet T63 MBT [main battle tank] head-on.

Within Armscor [South African Armaments Corporation], Somchem is the main contractor for FT5. Somchem has been involved for many years in the design, development and production of specialised weapon systems, sub-systems and components. This includes, inter alia, warheads, propulsion units, air-to-ground rockets, multiple artillery rocket systems, howitzer charges, etc.

FT5 development commenced in October 1983 with a formal user requirement statement being issued. It called for a robust, one-man portable weapon with a high hit probability; no need for special clothing, no special maintenance nor cleaning requirements, easy to operate and train, and an armour penetration capability in excess of 600 mm. As development continued over a five-year period, these requirements were met or exceeded. Following extensive trials and user evaluations, FT5 was accepted for service by the SADF during November 1988, with the first production delivery in May 1989.

The FT5 weapon system comprises a reusable rocket launcher constructed from composite reinforced plastic materials, an anti-tank rocket encapsulated in a launch canister and issued as a full round of ammunition, a sophisticated monocular sight and a complete training system. Although the system was designed to be maintenance free, a logistical backup service is, nevertheless, provided with complete tool sets and spares provision. With continually improving MBT armour in mind, it was also required that the system be capable of being upgraded as the threat evolved or new technology became available.

The FT5 launcher is not discarded after a round is fired: it can safely be re-used for a minimum of 200 shots. This gives greater operational flexibility in terms of weight to be carried, it allows a variety of different warheads to be fitted, and it is cost-effective to provide a much better sighting system than for throw-away systems.

The reusable launch tube is a smooth bore cylinder, filament wound into a composite matrix, with an integral composite wear-resistant liner. Attached to the tube is all the necessary handgrips, shoulder support and the electronic firing mechanism with built-in electronic and mechanical safety devices. To enable FT5 to be fired in the prone position, a bipod is stored inside the front handgrip. Launching is stabilised by a combination of low recoil impulse, a built-in system to balance the

launcher dynamically and a thumb trigger design that eliminates the launch perturbation commonly associated with convectional firing mechanisms.

The monocular optical sight has a X4 magnification and the graticule makes provision for range determination, as well as lead angle compensation against moving targets. The sight is calibrated for FT5's practical range limits from 50 m to 600 m at intervals of 50 m. For transport purposes, the sight can easily be detached from the launch tube and housed in the rear of the launcher.

Also fitted to the FT5 launcher is a battle sight of the occluded eye type. This sight is convenient to use under low ambient light conditions for short-range moving targets out of 200 m. It hinges out of the way whenever the optical sight or night sight is fitted. A standard adaptor, supplied with each launcher, provides the ability to fit the standard SADF passive night sight.

The launcher has a smooth and ergonomic-friendly profile, with no excessive protrusions or components that can get ensnared in webbing or other equipment; for example, when used during paratrooper operations.

The rocket is encapsulated inside a sealed launch canister, with a removable front cap. The canister is also

filament wound and is discarded after use. The rocket is designed with a ten-year shelflife, with no depot maintenance required, apart from 5-yearly inspections.

Consistent ballistic performance between one rocket and the next is achieved through synthesized burn rate catalysts in the double base propellant. FT5's remarkable accuracy, even in temperature extremes, is a result of the stable and repeatable combustion rate.

The rapid burn time of 2 milliseconds ensures total combustion while the rocket is still inside the launcher, thus eliminating any need for protective clothing by the operator.

The single charge HE [high explosive] warhead utilises a copper liner backed by a pressure-cast RDX/TNT [expansion not given] explosive. During trials, penetration against RHA has been consistently better than 650 M. The double ogive nose fuze gives warhead performance at grazing angles as low as 12° (78° NATO) to the horizontal.

Somchem has also developed a High Explosive Multi-Purpose (HEMP) warhead against earth and steel reinforced concrete bunkers, as well as armoured fighting vehicles and troop carriers. [passage omitted]

Angola

Official on Election Registration, Police Force

MB1812195191 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1900 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Excerpt] The registration for the election campaign will begin in January 1992, as long as state administration is extended to all parts of Angola by December. This was disclosed in Luanda yesterday by Colonel Fernando da Piedade Nando, government spokesman for the Joint Political and Military Commission [CCPM].

He said that on 23 December, in the city of Sumbe, the CCPM will introduce a system to ensure the neutrality of the police force. He said that government is awaiting a National Union for the Total Independence of Angola proposal listing the members of that organization who will join the police force. [passage omitted]

Botswana

Zambian President Arrives on Two-Day State Visit

MB1212132091 Gaborone Radio Botswana Network
in English 1110 GMT 12 Dec 91

[Text] President Frederick Chiluba of Zambia arrived in Gaborone this afternoon at the start of a two-day state visit to Botswana.

Mr. Chiluba was met at the Sir Seretse Khama Airport by the President, Sir Quett Masire and Lady Masire; the vice president, Mr. Peter Mmusi and Mrs. Mmusi; the acting chief justice, Mr. (Kaya Kodako); the speaker of the National Assembly, Mr. Moutlakgola Nwako; cabinet ministers; members of the diplomatic corps; and the mayor of Gaborone, Mr. Paul Rantau; and members of the public. Mr. Chiluba inspected a guard of honor by (?members) of the Botswana Defense Force before he was treated to some traditional music and dance.

According to the official program of the visit, Mr. Chiluba will have a private lunch the State House at 1:30 followed by a (?visit) to the offices of the President at 3:00 this afternoon. At 3:30, Mr. Chiluba will hold official talks with the President at the State House. At 4:30, the Zambian president and his entourage will go to (Hamuka) Station, where they will be taken on a conducted tour of the [name indistinct] factory. At 7:30 in the evening, Mr. Chiluba will attend a state dinner at the Sheraton Hotel in Gaborone.

He leaves for home tomorrow at 10:45 in the morning after addressing a press conference.

Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Arrives on Visit

MB1812160191 Gaborone Radio Botswana Network
in English 1910 GMT 17 Dec 91

[Text] Zimbabwe's foreign minister, Mr. Nathan Shamuyarira, arrived in Botswana this morning on a five-day official working visit. Mr. Shamuyarira, who is accompanied by his wife, was met at the [word indistinct] border by the Masunga district commissioner, Mr. Israel Zebe; the Francistown acting district commissioner, Mr. Boitumelo Sekgwa; and other government officials.

The minister, who was on his way to Palapye, made a stopover at the Francistown Zimbank branch. He was due to have lunch at the Botsalo Hotel in Palapye before leaving for Serowe, where he spent the night. Tomorrow Mr. Shamuyarira will hold discussions with central and local authorities, and later visit the royal cemetery and the museum.

Madagascar

Agreement Reached on Forming New Government

LD1712205591 Paris Radio France International
in French 1830 GMT 17 Dec 91

[Text] After seven months of crisis, Madagascar appears to be ready to enter the transition period leading to the third republic. The transition period's institutions were already set up last month. Only the consensus government was missing, a government that Prime Minister Guy Razanamasy and Albert Zafy, the head of the Active Forces, encountered great difficulty in forming. Guy Razanamasy even put his resignation on the line last Thursday. This time the two men have apparently reached an agreement. Guy Razanamasy has just announced this on the television in Madagascar. He did not say who would make up the government. He simply said that it would include about 30 ministers and that the first cabinet meeting will be next Friday.

On the line from Antananarivo is the president of the crucially important institution in the transition government, the High Authority, and this is Alber Zafy. Professor Zafy, the prime minister has just announced the agreement and said that no differences exist between him and you. Can you confirm this?

[Zafy] This is confirmed, and I think that in the coming days we will name the ministers.

[Announcer] So there are no problems at all. You have come to an agreement on the formation of a government?

[Zafy] Yes, yes, we agreed.

[Announcer] There is no risk of there still being obstacles?

[Zafy] Well, I don't think so, unless he changes at the last minute, but in any case for our part nothing has changed.

[Announcer] This government will be shared between your supporters and Guy Razanamasy's supporters?

[Zafy] Yes, it will be divided between the two of us.

[Announcer] Will it be divided equally?

[Zafy] Yes, almost. We may have a few more posts assigned to us, but the distribution of ministerial posts will be more or less equal.

[Announcer] Albert Zafy, the Madagascar crisis has now lasted seven months. Does the creation of this transition government mean that we will finally enter the transition [period]?

[Zafy] Yes, unless some unforeseen event takes place, we will enter the transition, but the movement [as heard] has not ended. This movement is continuing, but perhaps in another form with a different strategy, until the installation of the third republic, and then we have also had to tell people that once the third republic is installed, this does not mean that the movement will stop, because we must conserve, protect, and defend what we have achieved.

[Announcer] What should this transition result in?

[Zafy] The program has not changed. It is to prepare the national conference, the referendum, and all the elections that will result in the installation in the third republic, that is, the legislative and presidential elections.

[Announcer] How long will the transition take?

[Zafy] One year at the most.

Prime Minister Presents New Government

LD1912153591 Paris Radio France International
in French 1230 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Madagascar: We had confirmation this morning that a new government has been established. [passage omitted]

As expected, the Active Forces form part of the new team. Yves Rocle reports:

[Rocle] Yes, this time it really seems to be happening. The government of consensus was presented this morning by Prime Minister Guy Razanamasy. It is a team of 36 members, including four secretaries of state.

In the matter of distribution among the political groups, a balance has been maintained, more or less, between supporters of the prime minister and supporters of the Active Forces. One still might note the creation of a second post—deputy prime minister—given to Alfred Ramangasoavina, who is in Albert Zafy's close circle as well as a former deputy prime minister of former President Tsiranana under the first republic. The only two ministers of state of this new team come from the Active Forces.

In the key ministries, which posed the biggest problems during the negotiations, there is no change at the Ministries of Defense and Interior.

Evariste Marson, an Active Forces figure, becomes minister of finance. Fulgence Fanony, also of the Active Forces, takes education, and a close associate of Albert Zafy, the very popular Professor (?Damaz) becomes health minister.

Finally, one should point out that Cesaire Rabenoro remains Foreign Minister. In the end, there is a real consensus with—on this point the prime minister was particularly emphatic—a concern for regional balance.

[Announcer] Yves, what might happen now?

[Rocle] The transitional institutions are going to establish themselves; the Higher Authority, the key body chaired by Albert Zafy, is operating already. The Committee for Economic and Social Recovery has to be established, led by Manandafy Rakotonirina, leader of the Movement for Proletarian Power, and Pastor Andriamanjato, spokesman of the Active Forces. The National Forum then will have to meet. There is talk of 1,300 participants, who will have to draw up a new constitution. The referendum on this text then should take place in June or at the beginning of July. Then elections should be organized. [passage omitted]

Mozambique

President Chissano Receives South Africa's Botha

MB1812180191 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 1730 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] President of the Republic Joaquim Chissano today received Roelof Botha, South African foreign minister, with whom he mainly discussed issues connected with the ongoing Mozambique peace process.

During a three-hour meeting, the South African foreign minister expressed his government's interest in a rapid establishment of peace in Mozambique, and the consolidation of Angola's democratic and peace process with a view to a genuine cooperation, and increased foreign investment in the region.

Roelof Botha said he hoped the difficult South African situation would be overcome as soon as possible.

He wanted to know how South Africa could assist in the Mozambican peace process.

In reply, the Mozambican head of state said that Mozambique is not against South Africa sending delegations to the Rome talks, and playing the role that it has been playing. He said that the sides involved in the peace talks do not see the South African role as inconvenient. Joaquim Chissano added that South Africa could continue with its ongoing contacts with the Mozambique National Resistance.

Roelof Botha took the opportunity to brief President Joaquim Chissano on the preparations for the upcoming Convention for a Democratic South Africa, CODESA.

Further on Meeting, Talks

*MB1812153891 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1512 GMT 18 Dec 91*

[Text] Pretoria Dec 18 SAPA—Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha held talks with Mozambique's president, Mr Joaquim Chissano, in Maputo on Wednesday, according to a media statement from his department.

Mr Chissano was reassured of the South African Government's willingness to support Mozambique's current negotiations in Rome—and offered to render whatever assistance may be asked for by the parties concerned and/or by the mediators, the statement noted.

The visit was a follow-up to former talks and part of South Africa's continued contact with Mr Chissano to support the peace process in Mozambique and to exchange ideas on how to speed up this process.

Mr Botha said Mr Chissano expressed his appreciation and reaffirmed that he had no objection to South Africa "continuing its contact with Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] in order to achieve the objective of peace in Mozambique".

Mr Botha also informed Mr Chissano of the latest developments in South Africa, especially with regards to the Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] negotiations.

"Thoughts were also exchanged about the desirability of southern African states in jointly planning their future economic development.

"The implications the latest events in the Soviet Union will have on southern Africa were also discussed," the statement concluded.

Zambia

Government Doubles Price of Maize Meal

*MB1412083791 Gaborone Radio Botswana Network
in English 0510 GMT 14 Dec 91*

[Text] The Zambian Government has doubled the price of maize meal, the country's staple food.

In a statement in Parliament yesterday, the finance minister, Mr. Emanuel Kasonde, said the price rises were necessary and were intended to curb a government subsidy of maize meal. This was averaging to 10.4 million dollars per month. The World Bank and International Monetary Fund has been negotiating with the Zambian Government of President Frederick Chiluba on a new economic reform program.

The Finance Minister said the government expects to receive over 600 million dollars from the Western aid donors following the lifting of subsidies of maize meal.

Zairian Refugees, Soldiers Cause Unrest in North

*MB1712175691 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 17 Dec 91*

[Report by Robin Mackie from Lusaka on the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The recent unrest in Zaire led to an exodus of civilians and soldiers to the south, to Zambia, but if they are refugees they are certainly making a nuisance of themselves in an area where there has traditionally been cross-border friction.

From Lusaka, Robin Mackie reports:

[Begin Mackie recording] Reports reaching Lusaka from the Zairian border indicate that groups of Zairians, especially soldiers, are raiding farms in the Chililabombwe area, on the Copperbelt, for food.

[Word indistinct] (John Kalambwe) confirmed that Zairian soldiers were stealing livestock and household goods, particularly in the (Tinfushi) area, near the border with Zaire's Shaba Province. The police chief said his men have intensified patrols near old farms lying along the frontier, but he said it was impossible to seal the border completely because of its vastness. The border has been a traditional route of smuggled maize meal from Zambia and a sophisticated network of routes has been established to avoid detection, but the recent measures by the Zambian Government to stem the illegal flow of food into Zaire has forced hungry Zairians to raid border farms.

Zairians are also [words indistinct] through official border posts in search of food.

Meanwhile, the Zambian Government has intensified its crackdown on illegal aliens, especially on the Copperbelt. The new government has launched an intensive campaign to round up and deport illegal aliens, especially Senegalese, Malians, Ghanaians, and Zairians, who have been involved in the illegal trafficking of emeralds and other precious stones. Recently, the government deported over 170 illegal aliens, which sparked a protest from their Zambian wives.

However, the home affairs minister, Newsteadimba, is totally committed to the campaign to rid Zambia of all illegal aliens and he has alerted all border areas about the problem, which he calls the invasion of Zambia.

The minister stated that the campaign is not only aimed at west Africans, but all illegal immigrants. Reports are emerging from the Copperbelt that illegal immigrants are digging underground chambers below their houses to avoid detection by the police. Others are reported to have formed hit squads to eliminate police officers who are on the hunt for them. [end recording]

French Aid To 'Smooth Transition' to Democracy*MB1712110191 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 16 Dec 91*

[Text] The French Government has given Zambia a grant of 10 million French francs, about 160 million kwacha, to demonstrate its support for the smooth transition to multiparty democracy.

According to a dispatch from the Zambian Embassy in Paris, the grant was announced last Thursday [12 December] when deputy minister in the Office of the President, Mr. (Gigi Muromba), visited France on his way to Oslo, Norway. Mr. (Muromba), who met the [word indistinct] adviser to the French minister of finance, thanked the French Government for the [words indistinct].

Zimbabwe**Foreign Minister Cautious on Changes in RSA***MB1112062691 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1935 GMT 10 Dec 91*

[Text] Harare Dec 10 SAPA—Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira on Tuesday cautioned against too much optimism in the commitment of the South African [RSA] Government to the creation of a non-racial democratic society, the national news agency ZIANA reports.

"In such a fast changing situation it is easy for the people to be fooled by the emerging pattern which may not be a lasting pattern," Mr. Shamuyarira said, addressing the opening session of the Africa Fund Committee.

Mr. Shamuyarira said the situation in South Africa had changed since the formation of the Fund. When the Fund was established, it was envisaged that it would be used as a tool to force the South African Government to go to the negotiating table.

He said a Patriotic Front had been formed and a meeting to lay the ground for constitutional talks had been scheduled for December 20.

Mr. Shamuyarira said the Africa Fund, set up by the Non-Aligned Movement [NAM] to express solidarity with anti-apartheid movements in South Africa, should remain intact because it still had a part to play in the fight against apartheid and racial oppression.

"We believe that there is still an important task for the Fund to perform," he said.

However, in a speech later, the chairman of the Fund, Mr. Shri Mehrotra, said the Fund is facing financial problems because of the diminishing aid.

"The resource position of the Fund is much worse than what it was when senior officials met in Kuala Lumpur in May 1991," he told the meeting.

Delegates observed a minute of silence in memory of assassinated former Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, an influential figure in the NAM.

It was Mr. Gandhi who had tabled the resolution for the formation of the Africa Fund at the Non-Aligned summit in 1986.

The Fund was launched as a political initiative to express worldwide solidarity and support for the Frontline States and anti-apartheid movements in South Africa.

On South African exiles, Mr. Shamuyarira said their repatriation should not be left only to those countries that had given them shelter.

Cited on Africa Fund, RSA*MB1212053591 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English 1500 GMT 11 Dec 91*

[Text] The Zimbabwean Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Nathan Shamuyarira, says the situation in South Africa has changed since the establishment of the Africa Fund.

The Africa Fund was established by the Nonaligned Movement as a tool to force the South African Government to the negotiation table. Dr. Shamuyarira said at a meeting of the fund committee in Harare that the Africa Fund should remain intact because it still had a task to perform. In a subsequent speech it was revealed that the fund was placing financial problems because of diminishing aid.

Dr. Shamuyarira also spoke about South African exiles and said their repatriation should not be left only to those countries that had given the exiles shelter.

Government 'Stalling' on Paying for Maize Imports*MB1612191791 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1500 GMT 16 Dec 91*

[Text] Zimbabwe may run out of maize in two months unless that country's government provides hard currency this week to pay for imports from South Africa [RSA]. The chairman of Zimbabwe's Grain Marketing Board said that despite an agreement signed six week's ago with the South African Maize Board for the import of a 100,000 tonnes of maize, the Finance Ministry was stalling on providing the cash. Maize is Zimbabwe's national staple food.

Ghana

Amnesty Group Says Political Prisoners Held

AB1912105091 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 18 Dec 91

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] For a long time, the opposition in and out of Ghana has complained about dissidents being picked up and detained without charge or trial. There have been hints of malpractices and ill-treatment of prisoners. The PNDC [Provisional National Defense Council] government of Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings has played the allegations down. Well, now Amnesty International has come out with a report claiming that in spite of government denials there are political prisoners in Ghana. Josephine Hazeley asked Sarah Pennington of Amnesty exactly what their allegations were.

[Begin recording] [Pennington] The Ghanaian Government earlier this year denied that it was holding political prisoners. Amnesty says this is nonsense since it has been holding political prisoners for years and continues to arrest people for political offenses. We are also concerned about the use of the death penalty in Ghana. There are a very broad range of offenses for which the death penalty can be imposed, and we are very particularly concerned that the laws that have allowed the death penalty to be imposed for such offenses as smuggling are very vague and unclear.

[Hazeley] How can you say it is nonsense when the government says they have no more political prisoners. Do you have proof to the contrary?

[Pennington] Well, the government itself when presented with a list of political prisoners earlier this year by the human rights organization in Ghana, the Movement for Freedom and Justice, accounted for some of those prisoners by saying they were criminal suspects. But there were a large number of detainees on that list about which they provided no information. These are the people we are concerned about.

[Hazeley] Who are they exactly?

[Pennington] Many of them are soldiers or members of the security forces held, some of them since the early 1980s, apparently held on suspicion of involvement in conspiracies against the government or coup attempts but they have never been formally charged, and we do believe that some of them may be held on the weakest of evidence. Information suggests that some were held.... [Pennington changes thought], were barely interrogated at all and we believe some of them may well be prisoners of conscience.

[Hazeley] But you realize too that the law of Ghana says that in the interest of national security, the Government of Ghana has a right to protect its sovereignty and national security, and anybody can be held indefinitely.

[Pennington] Well, this is why we are calling for the repeal of such detention laws. We believe that under such laws, arbitrary detentions by the government on the flimsiest of excuses is permissible and we are opposed very strongly to the use of such laws.

[Hazeley] Amnesty is accusing the government of not bringing the political prisoners to trial. They have in the past, and so, you know, it is not like they just [word indistinct] people up in prison without any trial.

[Pennington] Some people have been brought to trial. The majority of political prisoners in the last 10 years, in fact, have not been brought to trial. Those that have, a very high proportion have been sentenced to death and executed. In fact, we believe that there have been about 100 people put to trial on political charges, about 50 of whom have been sentenced to death. [end recording]

Minister Rejects Charges

AB1912135091 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation
Radio Network in English 0600 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] The secretary for the interior, Nana Akuoku Sarpong, has again stated that there are no political prisoners in Ghana. He also rejected claims that some persons are being held on account of their political beliefs. In a reaction to a statement issued yesterday by Amnesty International on so-called political imprisonment in Ghana, the secretary repeated that all those being held in custody have been investigated in connection with specific charges against them. Others, he explained, are still being investigated. Nana Akuoku Sarpong cited as an example the case of nurses George Nakon and Kwesi Amah, who are being investigated by the police on charges of criminal libel and wondered if such people are the ones Amnesty International seeks to parade as political prisoners or prisoners of conscience.

The secretary challenged Amnesty International to publish the names of the 50 people who Amnesty claims are being held for their political beliefs. He described as nonsense the statement claiming that the Public Tribunal operates under vague laws and said the records of the tribunal repudiate the claim that the system is biased in favor of conviction.

Nana Akuoku Sarpong described the latest statement by Amnesty as part of a propaganda war it has embarked upon against some developing countries. He recalled similar statements issued against Nigeria, Tunisia, and Guinea. The secretary said in the case of Ghana, it is clear that Amnesty International has become a tool for dissidents and opposition groups in exile in their campaign of slander and vilification against the government, adding that their latest statement was obviously intended to coincide with the 10th anniversary celebration of the 31 December revolution.

Liberia

Taylor Creates Supreme Court, Registers Party

AB1912135891 Paris AFP in English 1148 GMT
19 Dec 91

[Text] Monrovia, Dec 19 (AFP)—Just days after registering his proposed National Patriotic Party (NPP) at his own probate court in Gbarnga, rebel leader Charles Taylor Wednesday set up his own supreme court and appointed its head. Radio Gbarnga reported late Wednesday. The radio monitored here said the Liberian rebel leader named Counsellor J. Henrique Pearson as chief justice of the judicial body and Counsellor E. Winfred Smallwood as one of the associate justices of the court. Pearson and Smallwood were members of the ad hoc supreme court jointly appointed by the interim government and Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL). Both of them are behind rebel lines.

Opposition parties here have again accused Taylor of trying to "hijack" the political process. They charge that he unilaterally appointed a chairman of the Interim Elections Commission, then registered his own party illegally.

At the weekend, the interim government accused Taylor of delaying the peace process worked out at a summit in Yamoussoukro, Ivory Coast, by refusing to open up the roads and allow a West African military peace-keeping force known as ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] to move in his territory.

Taylor has simply replied that the "peace process is on course", but has so far made no mention of opening the roads before Christmas as promised by his front.

Meanwhile, the interim government has imposed a total embargo on all basic commodities being sent to areas under the control of the NPFL. The Monrovia Daily News on Thursday quoted a Justice Ministry spokesman as saying that except for medical supplies and relief food, "absolutely nothing will be allowed to transit into NPFL areas". The spokesman said to ensure the implementation of the embargo, a special police task force has been set up to deal with the matter. Several gas trucks and other vehicles carrying petrol and goods into NPFL territory through the Monrovia-Kakata highway were seen parked Wednesday by police as the embargo went into effect.

Mali

Delegates Address Mopti Conference on North

AB1612215091 Bamako Radiodiffusion-Television
du Mali Radio in French 2000 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Excerpts] The Mopti meeting on the north began this morning at City Hall under the chairmanship of the head of state, Lieutenant Colonel Amadou Toumani Toure.

Present were the national authorities, members of the Transitional Committee for the Salvation of the People [CTSP], and the Cabinet, [words indistinct] the representatives of friendly countries, as well as delegates of the United Movements and Fronts of the Azawad [as heard] who arrived yesterday from Algeria. The Mopti meeting, coming after the one in Segou, will last for three days and will prepare the final stage for Timbuktu. The meetings aim to bring back peace to the northern regions. From Mopti, one of our special correspondents, Yiriba Samake, reports:

[Begin recording] [Samake] Mopti, city of dialogue and reconciliation, a city honored by being chosen to host this important meeting. The entire population of the Fifth Region, through the governor, Major Djingirae Toure, expressed their pride over the choice, which is clearly justified because in the Peul language, Mopti means rallying. Thus, Mopti has showed that this phase can fulfill the hopes placed in it, a decisive phase on the way of dialogue and national reconciliation in which the national conference has set us, said the CTSP chairman in his opening address. In light of the seriousness of the problem of the north, the nation is mobilized in solidarity in the search for a peace which, being based on the sacred principle of national unity and territorial integrity, will definitively eliminate the misunderstanding, squabbles, and violence. Only a diversity whose respect and enhancement will enrich, consolidate, and perpetuate national unity will be taken into account. That is the stance advocated by Lt. Col. Amadou Toumani Toure.

[Toure] As I declared on 9 November, it is necessary for answers to be found to the problems of the north so that the vast majority of our masses can find the security they yearn for, that those who have taken up arms over concern for their dignity may feel deeply that it is within the nation that dignity can be best ensured, that those who have taken up arms [words indistinct] of the society and of their own community. Our mission is for every Malian, settled or nomadic, city or rural dweller, of river or desert origin, to feel like a complete citizen, responsible and respected, respecting the law and being protected by the laws, and in solidarity with all his compatriots.

I can affirm today in the name of the entire Malian nation, that the nomads, whether they are Tuaregs of the north, or Arabs, whether they are white or black, are our brothers, and that we intend to share with them the same rights, the same duties, and the same destiny in a Mali that should continue to build its future. But all must be conscious that today we have an all-important vocation to show proof of our determination to advance peace.

The results that we have obtained to date through dialogue, consultation, and the spirit of tolerance are highly appreciable. This is because the logic of peace has today become irreversible, with the acceptance of the vast majority of Malians, and thanks to the help of neighbors and friendly foreign countries. In the face of forces engaged in a logic of sabotage, useless violence,

and unbridled destruction, we must keep our serenity, lucidity, and firmness, without ever giving in to provocation, while at the same time fulfilling our sacred mission to defend the population's territory and security. We must keep in mind that the future of our democratic political system is closely linked with the quality of solutions that we apply together to the problem of the north. This means that the chances of a harmonious development of our country are tied to what transpires here.

The way in which we have set out is, in our view, the only way to preserve national unity, and which does not leave room for doubt or discouragement. Therefore, may we be guided throughout our sessions and discussions by a highly patriotic spirit and a high sense of duty toward the nation and future and present generations. Mopti in Peul means rallying. May this very evocative name guide our steps. We do not have the right to disappoint. So many hopes have been placed in us. Mopti must open the way toward unity.

[Samake] Mr. Baba Akim Haidara, the delegate general in charge of the north, also gave an address at the opening session, in which he thanked our Algerian friends for their remarkable work as mediators. He emphasized the great hope that has been placed in the Mopti phase. [passage omitted]

For its part, the delegation of the Unified Movements and Fronts of Azawad informed the meeting about the determination of all the armed movements to find a fair and lasting solution to the Azawad issue, in the respect of the complementarity of its constituent groups. The delegation spokesman, Mr. (Sidi Zahabi,) then specified the common aims of the various Azawad movements:

[(Zahabi)] Permit me to specify that the United Movements and Fronts of Azawad are made up of combatants who are all natives of the Azawad, who have the common aim of fighting against the injustice, the oppression, racism, and the exclusion to which the Azawad people have been subjected since Mali's independence in 1960. Thus, our struggle is not directed against any color, any religion, nor any ethnic group. It is only the logical answer to the situation of misery and despair in which the various successive governments of Mali have deliberately plunged our people. It is relevant here to recall that we are not armed bandits, stateless people, blood-thirsty mercenaries in a quest for adventure, but men who are concerned first and foremost about getting respect and about the right to be different. We remain conscious of the fact that the Azawad is a common land where populations linked by culture, history, geography, and blood ties have been living since time immemorial. We do not in any way intend to change this fundamental reality.

Nevertheless, it is indispensable and urgent that the concerns of each of these peoples be taken care of, in order to safeguard this harmony. Ladies and gentlemen, the insecurity that has been affecting the inhabitants of

the Sixth and Seventh Regions for some time now is regrettable for more than one reason. Our delegation condemns, in the strongest terms, the blind repression that is unleashed on the Tuareg and Arab people in the urban centers. In this regard, we are calling on the Army and security services to assume their responsibilities and to unmask all the secret milieus that fan the flames of discord among Azawad communities.

Ladies and Gentlemen: We have come to Mopti in reply to the call aimed at finding a negotiated solution to the known problem. A major stride has been made by the United Movements and Fronts of Azawad, which have decided to present a common platform of demands, which we have been charged with explaining to you here. We are not waging war for the pleasure of war. We are not the armed wing of anybody. But we are determined to find an equitable solution that corresponds to the suffering and martyrdom of our people. We willingly accept the outstretched hand of President Amadou Toumani Toure, [applause] but we hope that things will go beyond the stage of simple speeches. Our fighters need concrete acts. We hope to send to them from Mopti concrete proposals. It is the only way of overcoming the serious crisis of confidence, which unfortunately has grown between the authorities of Bamako and the armed movements of Azawad. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Lt. Col. Amadou Toumani Toure also thanked Libya, Mauritania, Niger, and Burkina Faso, whose delegations are present at Mopti, as well as all the mediators who have been working one way or the other in discretion. [passage omitted]

The session, which was suspended after the opening session, will resume 17 December at 1000 GMT. Until then, informal consultations are going on in the corridors. [passage omitted]

Conference Closes With Communiqué

AB1912082891 Bamako Radiodiffusion-Television du Mali Radio in French 2000 GMT 18 Dec 91

["Memorandum" issued at closure of Mopti conference on north, on 18 December; read by conference official Souleymane Doukoure—recorded]

[Text] 1. After the 9 November speech made by Lieutenant Amadou Toumani Toure, the head of state, who chaired the technical and preparatory meeting held in Segou from 25 to 27 November, the Mopti conference is in line with peace efforts aimed at reaching through negotiations a peaceful, just, and lasting solution to the problem in the north, which the armed movements call the Azawad (?issue).

2. Through his actual presence at the deliberations of the Mopti conference, Lt. Col. Amadou Toumani Toure, chairman of the Transition Committee for the Salvation of the People, CTSP, and head of state, wanted to stress

his personal commitment and that of the entire Malian nation to strive for peace and national reconciliation.

3. On one hand, the CTSP and the government expressed satisfaction with the participation of the Unified Movements and Fronts of Azawad, who represented all the factions of the rebellion and were backed by a committee of wise men, and on the other with the presence of Algeria as a mediator.

4. The government side notes with satisfaction that the unified movements and fronts have accepted the principles of a negotiated settlement within the framework of national unity and territorial integrity.

5. To create the conditions for constructive negotiations, both sides reached an understanding on the following elements: first, stopping violent acts against the civilian citizens, livestock, and fauna, as well as the destruction of flora in the sixth, seventh, and eighth regions and other places in the country. Second, setting up an independent commission of inquiry to examine the violent acts and losses suffered by the citizens of the sixth, seventh, and eighth regions and in other parts of the country. The composition of this commission will be decided by common consent. Third, the continuation of consultations at a designated place should also be decided by common consent. To symbolize the actual reconciliation, the government expressed the desire that the final accord, which is expected to seal the peace and understanding for all the country's sons, would be signed in Mali. Fourth, the release, according to the reciprocity principle, of all those detained.

6. Both sides exchanged the memorandum and opened discussions which will continue at the next meeting slated for 16 January 1992 in Algeria.

7. The government side noted the determination of the unified movements and fronts to seal their union permanently at their next congress.

8. Both sides agreed in principle on the need for a truce, the modalities of which will be decided by common consent at the next meeting.

9. The government side and the delegation of the unified movements and fronts strongly expressed satisfaction with the actions (?already carried out) as part of the negotiations process toward achieving peace and harmony among all the Malian sons.

The present memorandum is issued in three authentic original copies.

[Signed] For the Unified Movements and Fronts of Azawad, the spokesman, (Zaadis Ould Sid Mohamed)

For the Government of the Republic of Mali, Lieutenant Colonel Birama Sire Traore, secretary of state for internal security

For the mediating People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, Abdelmadjid Boulghui, Algerian ambassador to Mali

Toure Comments on Results

AB1912083891 Bamako Radiodiffusion-Television
du Mali Radio in French 2000 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] The positive results of the Mopti meeting have rewarded the Malian people's peace efforts in the northern regions. In his closing address, Lieutenant Colonel Amadou Toumani Toure, chairman of the Transitional Committee for the Salvation of the People [CTSP], expressed satisfaction at the outcome by saying that the country was really headed for constructive dialogue.

[Begin Toure recording] Excellencies, CTSP members, government members, representatives of the Unified Azawad Movements, political party delegates and democratic associations and organizations, excellencies, honorable guests, ladies and gentlemen, dear compatriots:

Everybody thought it was impossible to do, but then one day some people came. They did not know it was possible, but they did it. Winston Churchill's words are perfectly applicable to today's situation. From this moment on, we will be moving toward a constructive dialogue that should lead to a peaceful, just, and lasting solution to the painful problem in the north. Meeting and talking to each other is one way of accepting each other.

The Mopti conference, which, over the past four days, brought together the sons of the Malian nation, marks a decisive stage in building reciprocal trust among all the parties. I fervently hope that the delegations present will be the ambassadors of peace to the warriors so that we can build as quickly as possible the peace so desired by the entire nation. As the country (?thrives,) so do those who (?hail from it.)

Today we should move beyond solutions and plan a future. We intend to include all region's inhabitants because they are all concerned and must contribute to that future. We intend to have democratic management for the territorial groupings throughout Mali. We expect, in particular, to ensure an (?instructive) implementation of our memorandum. We will do it step by step, beginning today without ever stopping. Mali will benefit from the realization of such a policy which, as everybody knows, is in the national interest. Dear compatriots, there is no room for doubt in this policy, which is aimed at building democracy through respect for the laws and equality of citizens and achieving development by considering the country's economic and social problems.

This policy intends to take differences into account so that instead of jeopardizing our unity they may effectively contribute to our richness. Sons of multiple ethnic

groups, descendants of original cultures and modes of life, Malians must feel like full citizens of the Republic of Mali and I am calling for all sons to be united. We need to continue our efforts toward national reconciliation. I am appealing to all those who are armed, wherever they may be, to refrain from violent acts.

To the armed and security forces, whose mission is to protect citizens, show restraint during acts of provocation. [applause] Malraux [French writer and art historian] is right when he says, and I quote: The weapon of victory is will-power, end of quotation. Where there is a will, there is a way. While wishing you all a happy return to your families, I am declaring the Mopti conference closed. I thank you. [end recording]

After this speech laden with hope, the head of state and the delegation of the Unified Movements and Fronts left each other with brotherly and friendly handshakes. The sister and friendly countries, the partners in development, the international organizations, and all the [word indistinct] people whose joint actions led to this encouraging result received thanks for their efforts.

Nigeria

Government Said To Release Detained Politicians

*AB1812203091 Paris AFP in English 2005 GMT
18 Dec 91*

[Text] Abuja, Dec 18 (AFP)—Eleven prominent politicians arrested more than two weeks ago for allegedly violating a ban on engaging in political activities are to be released, Nigeria's military government announced Wednesday [18 December].

It said the decision to release the 11 politicians, who were arrested on December 2, was taken by the Armed Forces Ruling Council headed by President Ibrahim Babangida.

A 1989 decree banned all former office holders from engaging in political activities until the end of a transition period from military to civilian rule.

Ban on Some Second Republic Politicians Lifted

*AB1912120091 Lagos Voice of Nigeria in English
1030 GMT 19 Dec 91*

[Text] The ban placed on a certain category of Nigerians who held public offices before and during the Second Republic has been lifted. The decision, however, does not affect those politicians who have been found guilty of wrongdoing by a tribunal.

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